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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY 1920

DOES THE CHURCH PROLONG THE INCARNATION ?

I

THERE is a conception of the Church which, I think, had its origin in Roman circles (it is certainly most at home in Catholicism) and which presents it as the extension or the prolongation of the Incarnation. It is a fascinating idea, and it has been put in a fascinating way by Canon Rawlinson in *Foundations*. But the first expression of it, so far as I know, is to be found in Moehler's *Symbolism* (p. 260, E.T. original, p. 332), where he says: 'The visible Church, as I view it, is the Son of God always appearing among men in human form, always renewing Himself. It is His perpetual incarnation. The faithful are in Scripture called the body of Christ.' The use which Moehler makes of the idea is to commit us to the infallibility of the Church. I do not wonder. The extension of the Incarnation applied to matter makes transubstantiation, makes the most *real* thing on earth—the elements of the Sacrament; the same logic applied to truth should be carried on to produce the most *true* thing as dogma; and it was inevitable that the prolongation of the Incarnation into society should end in the indefectibility, first of the Church, and then of the Pope. The divine and the human are in the Church united as they were in Christ, so the human vicar is as inerrable and as saving as the divine Lord. 'If the divine element—the living

Christ—constitute what is infallible and eternally inerrable in the Church, the human is infallible and inerrable in the same way.' 'So indeed that Christ Himself is for us an authority only in so far as the Church is an authority.' I confess this seems to me the proper and necessary use to make of the truth, if a truth it be. Only, the feeling will intrude that such a truth would never have been discovered, or rather the real truth would never have got this form, but for the need to find a theological base for the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Church's infallibility, and finally the Pope's. The Church was not created by that doctrine, but that doctrine grew out of the Church.

The whole conception seems part of an exaggerated, or even an exclusive, use of one New Testament metaphor describing the Church as Christ's body, to the neglect of other metaphors which carry other suggestions. Even if we take the metaphor of the body, Mochler's argument seems to require the assumption that the physical body of Christ was an organism exempt from the possibility of fatal disease. We should have to believe that, apart from the calamity of the Cross, Christ could never have died a natural death; He could not have died in His bed of a sickness in which the body rebelled against its vital unity. Again, what was it in the actual body of Christ that corresponded to the existence, not only in the Church but at the head of it, of bad men, of very bad men, of, perhaps, the worst men the world has ever seen? What, in the Incarnation which is extended into the Church, corresponded to the presence, and the presence in such numbers and power, of such men, who are not confined to that Roman Church which has given them the greatest opportunity?

But I will not pursue that line for the moment. I will rather ask whether the notion I discuss is not more speculative than ethical, more theosophic than theological, more attractive to poetic imagination than to New Testament revelation, moral thought, or critical judgement; it is

certainly not identical with the old idea of Christ as the head of the Church. But has it not the positive defect of abolishing any real difference between the increate and the create? The Church is the creature of Christ; but is the creature an extension of the Creator? Is the world but a projection of God? The Church was created by the gospel; did any gospel create Christ? Again, does the view not destroy the vital difference between Redeemer and redeemed? The Church is composed of the redeemed; are they but a prolongation of the Redeemer? Is their best conduct a prolongation of redemption or a product of it? Can we say that the Church, even collectively taken, that the Church of the Spirit is more redeemer than redeemed? Does this view not erase the difference between the holy and the unholy—the bottomless gulf which makes the grace that crosses it in forgiveness the greatest miracle in the world? Is the piety of the Church the prolongation of Christ's holiness, which was a holiness in its own right, and not in virtue of another's atoning and redeeming grace? The Church is the object of grace; if it prolongs the incarnate Christ, was He too an object of grace? Was He not its one subject, its one giver? Or did He Himself depend on some redemption, like any Parsifal? The Church lives on a mediator; who was the mediator between God and the Christ continuous with that Church for which a mediator is indispensable?

There are a good many similar questions that could be asked. The whole idea applied to the Church is quite parallel to the naïve notion of immanence, whereby the Creator is said to be continued into His creation, and the distinction is erased between God and man on the one hand and nature and man on the other. It is akin to the bold attempt and failure to save Catholicism by a Hegelianism which, as usual, works out into some kind of Pantheism injurious to moral personality, and therefore to real union with God. The result is the usual one—the erasure of difference rather than its valuation, and especially the erasure

of the great moral difference made by the appearance of personality in creation or of sin in man.

It is a part of a general tendency in present culture to press the mystic or the monistic at the cost of the moral; to acquire the *cachet* of a cream-laid theology which cherishes a lucid intolerance of paradox, crisis, and tragedy at the cost of moral experience, moral passion, and moral cruciality; to cultivate sequacity of process, or flow of thought, at the cost of that paradox of action which is the dramatic core of the Christian Cross; to develop the culture of a Logos at the cost of the ethic of the Kingdom, and the graceful at the price of the thorough and real; to pursue the studious psychology of religion, or its theosophy, without tasting the deepest tragedy of the moral soul, where, on the Cross, theology springs. That tragedy is the evangelical crisis and its experience, which the mystic, cultured, and sacramental religion of the *via media* tends to displace, but which, in its classic cases, calls forth a moral psychology of fundamental depth and reality, where neither our modern thinking nor our refined piety is yet at home. It invites a psychology of sin and regeneration not yet attempted for want of data and of experients who could handle them. Here, in the psychology of the evangelical experience, the great Reformers were deeply at home, partly owing to the legacy they had in the long penitential praxis of the old Church. And here the true and final idea of religion as miraculous contact with the last reality of action is to be found.¹ It is no distinctly Christian idea of religion which develops (as the phrase we examine does) in a Neo-Platonist way the notion of suffusion rather than response, of deification rather than regeneration, of forgetfulness of the world's sin rather than repentance, the mere submersion of the soul's tragedy of guilt, or its resolution (with Schleiermacher) into a piety of absorption in Christ's consciousness. I put it like that because if the

¹ Might I refer to my article on 'The Reality of God' in the *Hibbert Journal* of July, 1918?

Church's experience but prolongs Christ's, that is how it must be put. Truly there was more crisis and tragedy in the moral soul of Christ over the sin of the world than academic religion owns; but it was not the crisis of personal repentance nor the resolved tragedy of personal guilt. The calm, sane, wise Jesus passes away with mere liberalism, with the Jesus of the cloistered student and the delightful sodality; a Jesus comes who is brusque, often, when we expected a gracious mood, and rent, between His seasons of superhuman peace, with anger and conflict to the verge of despair; but it was part of the passion that bore the Church's guilty experience. That could never have been done by one whom that experience prolonged. The view I venture to examine is one of thoughtful disciples rather than passionate apostles, of clean youth, whose yesterdays look backward on them with a smile, rather than of veterans scarcely saved. It is too foreign to the apostolic idea of faith as the great moral act translating the world's wickedness into sanctity; and it is too kin to the movement of a well-set-up mind which is but devout, or of a conscience which has more curiosity about sin than conviction of it. The idea I discuss is part of the general inadequacy in our treatment of sin, grace, and the new creation—a defect largely due to the fallacy of baptismal regeneration, taking subliminal effects for moral change, or to a culture which takes graciousness for grace, and lacks moral realism.

The mention of baptismal regeneration reminds me that the notion covered by our phrase is parallel also to views of the *unio mystica* which do injustice to the moral nature of the new birth. They lose the true inwardness of it, either in metaphysic or in emotion, and some seem to look down on sanctification by faith as on a lower grade. Such erroneous views are left their scope by the removal from regeneration of all moral crisis through notions of it fostered by magical conceptions of what takes place in becoming a Christian. And they are sustained by the theological

method which begins with the Incarnation (on the authority of a Church) and descends on the propitiation, instead of beginning with an Atonement (which comes within the range of our moral experience) and ascending to the Incarnation on those moral lines which are the highways of the Christian realm, of the Kingdom of God.

I bear in mind the plea that in the Incarnation, no less than in the Atonement, we are dealing with an act and not a mere process. But, as I say, it is not an act parallel to anything in our experience. And it does not in itself come home to experience. It certainly does not do so as the Atonement does, and the justification which rests on Atonement. It does not appeal to the moral experience, and it often lends itself to aspects of religion which are less ethical than aesthetical—whether it be the aesthetic of contemplative thought or of mystic feeling. We call the Incarnation an act in the most real sense only on the strength of the atoning act which was its last purpose and its crucial consummation—at once the condition and the channel of the new creation and the new life. The only act that gives Incarnation a real meaning for us is the act in which Christ became sin for us. That alone gives moral sense to His becoming flesh for us. But if we are to call either an act, the prolongation is really a reverberation. There is a polarity more than an extension. Christ's act is met by ours which it stirs. This is a polarity that does not fit the idea of prolongation, except as the echo prolongs the note—and that is but a *ricochette*. The faith that makes the Church is a response and not a continuation—even if the response be created by the Incarnate. Prolongation suggests process rather than action.

A whole brood of errors rises from a view of Incarnation which is more substantial than moral, and more concerned with natures than with powers, or with thought than experience. They cluster round the view which makes the Incarnation rather than the Atonement the creative base of Christian society and ethic, and which leads people to think that

sacramental virtue is chiefly something that is subconsciously infused instead of morally inspired in the way of personal contact or communion. The idea I examine in this essay is impossible if we recognize that the only real access to the Incarnation, and the key to the moral quality of its self-emptying, is by the way and the experience of a moral Atonement. 'A religion is moulded by its idea of *salvation*' and not of incarnation. India is full of the idea of incarnation, from which the Christian idea differs at root only by its atoning, i.e. its moral quality. Christ is God because He did and does what God alone could do. The avenue to His divine dignity is through His redeeming value. Only the holy God against whom we have sinned can forgive or atone. Only the Atoner reveals the essential nature of the holy. Christ by His Atonement forgives us into eternal life. It was what He came to do. So far as God's revealed account of Himself goes, that was the reason for His Incarnation. Christ meets the Holy One for us sinners not with His cryptic rank in heaven but with a historic holiness equal to His own. God's will was done on earth as in heaven. That is the real nature of the Incarnation and its work. Its nature is revealed in its moral action. It is not the case of a spiritual process returning on itself but of the reciprocal moral action distinctive of personality between Holy Father and Holy Son. The holy, heavenly Father finds Himself perfectly answered and delighted in the holy human Son, and in His Son's practical confession of Him from the last moral depth of human history, from amid conditions where He was made sin for us far more than He was made flesh. That is what we find offered to us in evangelical Christianity. That is the true nature of satisfaction, which is a personal relation and not a juristic pact. And it is something whose nature we can experience, though far outreaching experience. It puts the Incarnation on a basis experient and not just unintelligible, and one finally moral and therefore social. It makes it possible to commend the doctrine to the ordinary

conscience. We cannot take the Incarnation simply as the greatest and most spiritual of nature miracles on the final authority of a Book or a Church. How can the Church be sure that its belief in the Incarnation is no illusion? How but in the certainty of the last moral experience, the communion of the last reality, the experience of a God in Christ that remade the *conscience* by a creative act. For the conscience is the great organ of reality.

The action of the Atonement as the real nature of God's presence in man moralizes religion. And that is the greatest need of the hour—greater than the altruizing of it, greater than the psychologizing of it, greater than the socializing of it. And to that extent it makes the Incarnation for the Church a real power instead of a theological theme resting on the verdict of the early centuries, with their Christologies so detached either from a Soteriology or even a historic Christ. It makes it an active power instead of an heirloom of the Church. What we know about early Councils, their frequent atmosphere and their style of metaphysic, makes some nearer, more ethical, and more scriptural authority necessary to-day. The Incarnation is an evangelical act. It took place in the form of moral atonement. It is the redeeming fact only as it makes that possible; and that not as its postulate but as its condition. It did not take place that creation might be continued and completed, but that reconciliation should come by an atoning God, that God's holy name should be glorified by its confession of itself from amid the creature's sin. Whether an Incarnation would have taken place without sin and the need to atone is a question on which we know nothing. It cannot be answered except in a speculative way which is little relevant to living and evangelical faith. So far as we do know, the Incarnation was not the completion of creation so much as its retrieval, its redemption. And often where most is said about the Incarnation, the Redemption does not come by its own, and mere reverence is apt to take the place of righteous-

ness or humility of worship. The Incarnation was not a larger annexe prolonging creation; it was a new creation on another plane and higher principle, the moral principle of holiness (which was yet provided for in the first). It transcended creation not in degree but in kind. It was not an extension in any such sense as just consummating creation—though it did that (and the idea is an engaging one, in limits, as I say). The Word made flesh was not simply the pure and luminous emergence of the divine immanence in creation. It was not the pure climax of the reason of God. It was more than the precipitation of a Logos. And it was not the top flight of human spirituality. It was the reality of which the first creation was not the first stage only but the symbol and promise. What it really was we do not reach till we realize it morally—not just as the Word made flesh but as the Holy made sin for us, till we enjoy ‘the benefits of His death,’ till we hear the new creating word in our moral soul, the word in which we are born again by a greater act, and a greater crisis, and a greater miracle than creation was. To remake a free humanity from rebellion and wreck was a greater strain on omnipotence than to make a cosmos from a chaos morally inert. The true omnipotence is moral, and is most chiefly shown in having mercy and forgiving.

The reborn soul, the regenerate Church, is therefore no more an extension of Christ than the appearance of moral freedom in the evolutionary scale was but a prolongation of God's, whose product it yet was. Indeed the idea in the phrase seems to betray an inadequate grasp of the real differentia, the new departure, the moral cruciality, involved in personal freedom. It reveals in its idealism a certain inexpertness in moral thinking, and especially in moral pathology. It suggests a greater familiarity with speculative than with moral philosophy, as if Hegel had been reached without any schooling in Kant, and as if the back-to-Kant movement had never existed. Its habit of thought savours more of idealist processes, or cultured pieties, than of the

moral soul of history or its tragedy of guilt. Outwardly it seems more historical, inwardly it is not. It does not realise the true differentia of history from nature, of action from process, of redemption from development. It does not indicate the soul's reaction to God's action in kind, nor God's reaction to the soul's sin in judgement as well as mercy, nor God's *holy* grace with man's *moral* faith as its one answer.

The application of this engaging habit of mind to the Church, I said, overworks the metaphor of body in relation to soul. The body works by processes, it does not act. If the Church is Christ's body it just accepts the processes of His soul within it, it does not reciprocate them in their own moral kind, it does not initiate response as personality does; nor could Christ's body misunderstand, resist, or foil Him as even the Church can do, has done, and does. The figure does not do justice to the group personality of the corporate Church. It does not leave place for its spontaneity in meeting its Saviour's action *eodem genere*. The body of Christ had a relation to His soul which is not parallel to that of the Church; for the Church is a collective personality, composed of persons with far more initiative than cells, and it was, and is, created by a great and standing personal act. If the Church prolong the Incarnation there is no room for a due mutuality, a real reciprocity. When Christ said 'I in you as the Father in Me' He could not possibly mean that the Son was the extension of the Father. Nor could He mean that the repentance He should create in the Church was just the prolongation of His sinless confession of its sin before God, though it was the fruit of that confession and so, by anticipation, part of the total offering He brought to God. It is true that Paul said 'I live, and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me.' That is the expression of a very great religious experience. But it could never mean that Paul's own personality was erased, that Christ just displaced it. It could not mean that the apostle's soul was reduced to a mere receptacle for Christ. Nor could it mean that he just

prolonged Christ. How could a personality like Christ's live in anything less than another personality, greatened and made more personal, more active, to receive Him? The more reception there is the more personality is in the receiver. It is no mere passivity of ours that receives a Christ freely crucified. The receptivity for such a thing is more responsive.

We might also ask how the view of the Church as Christ's body is related to the view of the Host as His body, and how the passage is made from the prolongation of the incarnation on the altar to its prolongation in the Church as a whole. The fact that the Church is fed by the converted bread hardly seems to suffice for this passage, considering the wickedness that has survived in the Church centuries of such nutriment. And the feeding of the Church is the feeding of what is already a new creation—by what? Baptism? One might also ask how Moehler adjusts to this idea his position towards the end of his book that the visible Church preceded the invisible. It looks like saying that the body of Christ preceded His soul. But, apart from that, the idea of body is overdriven. The other and loftier metaphor of the bride is really more worthy, though in the New Testament more rare, for reasons not very obscure. It does provide for Christ a *vis-à-vis* in personal and moral kind. It makes response possible, and a moral reciprocity which is more than sacramental receptivity of the Catholic kind. The parties kindle to a mutual flame. The metaphor of the body does not do justice to the Church as the collective and solidary Christian man. 'Till we all (i.e. collectively) come to the full grown man.' One may wonder that the Church has not in her art or literature made use of the legend of King Cophetua and the beggar maid. He took her from the dust *with her consent*. And as with the Church and its Lord, there may have been episodes in the joint life of these two when he needed all his kingliness to deal with certain atavisms of hers, or survivals of her first days. Perhaps,

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apart from the frequency of the metaphor of body in the New Testament, the Church may well have felt that the ruling relation of soul to body, and the lack of moral independence on the body's part, lent itself best to the theory of monarchical rule by an episcopate headed by a Pope. And for that reason it may find the theory of the prolongation of the Incarnation more useful than that of the dispensation of a Holy Spirit. For in the latter there is better met the idea of moral polarity and of evangelical response in repentance and conversion. That better suits the freedom of personality, or the moral worth of the soul, or the priesthood of all believers, or the solidarity of social vocation than either Baptismal Regeneration or the extension of the Incarnation. I will just add that it is quite impossible for any instructed faith, for anything but a crude idealism, to say in the same breath that it sits at the feet of the highest of high Anglicans, and that it looks to do the better service thereby to the Protestantism which is their rôle to deplore, their habit to despise, and their mission to destroy. A vague, voluble, and amateur idealism now becomes one of the chief rivals of a Christianity where idealism was once an ally. But I must pursue the matter in a second article.

P. T. FORSYTH.

THE WESLEYS AND BISHOP WINNINGTON INGRAM

Charles Wesley: A Study. By D. M. JONES. (Skeffingtons, 7s. 6d.)

Life of Charles Wesley. By JOHN TELFORD, B.A.

The Living Wesley. By JOHN H. RIGG, D.D.

Reunion Addresses at Kingsway. *Methodist Times*, March and April, 1919.

The Bishops on Exchange of Pulpits. *The Times*, September, 1919.

Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry. Edited by H. B. SWETE, D.D. (Macmillans, 1918.)

A New History of Methodism. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1909.)

Wesley's Works. (Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872.)

THE titanic labours and indomitable energy of John Wesley, since the Apostles the greatest of evangelists, have largely diverted the attention of historians and biographers from the figure of his brother Charles Wesley, the greatest sacred poet and hymn-writer in the history of the Christian Church. Miss Dora M. Jones, in her excellent study of Charles Wesley, has produced a volume which brings out very vividly the romance of his life. The story of his Charterhouse days is here set forth, with that strange incident which leads Methodists not only to claim that John Wesley saved England from the French Revolution, but also to claim that Charles Wesley was linked to the Duke of Wellington. The Charterhouse boy was offered adoption by Garrett Wesley, who ultimately adopted another kinsman, the grandfather of the Iron Duke.

A few years later the scholar of Christ Church goes out in the spirit of Xavier to the new Colony of Georgia, here to become involved in a scandal, well told by Miss Jones, in which an unprincipled Delilah tries to blacken the character of General Oglethorpe, the excellent Governor of the Colony, and of Charles Wesley, making each of them believe that the other is an immoral scoundrel. The romance

continues all through the life of the poet, whose hymns were so largely the inspiration of the Methodist revival, and the close of this admirable study pictures Charles Wesley, the twin leader of the new Puritans, organizing a series of concerts attended by his convert, the actress, Mrs. Rich, the wife of the proprietor of the Drury Lane theatre, Lord Mornington, the Bishop of London, and many well-known leaders of English society.

This volume, taken in conjunction with Mr. Telford's life of Charles Wesley, and Charles Wesley's Journals edited by Mr. Telford, has a special interest and value at the present moment in setting forth the fundamental difference between the attitude of John and Charles Wesley with respect to the vital question of Apostolical Succession, the value that they respectively attached to union with the Church of England, and the extent to which they individually dreaded schism. No one can study John Wesley's Journals without finding strong evidence that his attachment to the Church of England was passionate, and his determination to prevent his people seceding did not waver from September 13, 1739, when he describes a conversation with a 'serious clergyman,' and affirms that in no point does he differ from the other clergy of the Church of England, right down to the close of his career. In 1756 no dissenting voice existed in the Society on this point. In 1758 he published his *Twelve Reasons against Separating from the Church of England*, which were endorsed by Charles Wesley. In 1778 the Conference decided it was their duty not to leave the Church, wherein God had blessed them and still was blessing them. In 1785 he writes to controvert a rumour that he was about to leave the Church of England, and says: 'I openly declared I had now no more thought of separating from the Church than I had forty years ago.' Almost at the close of his life, he speaks, on January 1, 1787, of a visit to Deptford, when he told the leading men of the Society who were 'mad for separating from the Church' that, 'If you

are resolved, you may have your service in Church hours, but remember from that time you will see my face no more.'

Notwithstanding all these statements, Charles Wesley gravely distrusted his brother's attitude and the likelihood of his maintaining his position, or at any rate of his preachers continuing in his footsteps. As early as December 14, 1754, he writes to the Rev. Walter Sellon, who from a Methodist preacher had become a clergyman, and says: 'My brother took no notice to me of your letter. Since the Melchisedekians have been taken in, I have been excluded from his cabinet council. They know me too well to trust me with him. He has come so far as to believe separation lawful, only not yet quite expedient.'

It would not be unfair to say, as the modern Methodist undoubtedly does say, of John Wesley's constant protestations that he did not intend to leave the Church of England, in view of his action in consecrating a Bishop for American Methodism and of his later Ordinations: 'Methinks the lady doth protest too much!' When he was convinced by Lord Chancellor King's *Enquiry* that presbyters and bishops were one order, and when he abandoned the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, and termed it 'a fable which no man ever did or can prove,' he adopted an attitude which has justified his followers in their view that the true succession is that of the Living Church, and that the members of the Church have the right to set apart an order of men to administer the Sacraments.

The words of the Rev. Thomas Jackson, Charles Wesley's biographer, written in 1841, are true, that 'The Wesleyan Methodists have never as a body either avowed or entertained the belief that an ecclesiastical establishment, episcopacy, or the use of a liturgy is unlawful. In the strict sense of the word, therefore, they are not Dissenters.' Nevertheless, they have taken up a position which the most influential theologians in the Church of England would repudiate to-day as schismatic. In these circum-

stances, it is not surprising that the modern Methodist regards himself as a follower who has carried out the principles underlying John Wesley's action to their logical conclusion. Whilst Charles Wesley's hymns have been the spiritual nourishment of generations of Methodists, his ecclesiastical attitude is almost universally rejected by Wesleyans to-day.

It is an interesting fact that whilst among Anglican clergy there are many who doubt the validity of their own orders, it would probably be difficult to find amongst upwards of two thousand Wesleyan Methodist ministers to-day five men who had any doubt as to the validity of their ministry. Most would reject altogether the word 'orders,' and would claim that the question of ministry is a question of 'order,' not 'orders'; but those who hold that they are a special order would assert that the order was created by the Church, and was not handed down through a succession of prelates, and they would assert this without any hesitation or doubt of any kind whatsoever.

The duty of obedience to Bishops, which is accepted by almost every Anglican clergyman, would be a conception of the place of authority in the Church which would be repudiated by the overwhelming majority of Wesleyan ministers to-day. At the same time, there is a new sense of the value of the Catholic Heritage spreading amongst the younger ministers who date from the time of the revival of Methodism by Hugh Price Hughes, which finds expression in the opening chapters of *The New History of Methodism*. Dr. Herbert Workman, the distinguished scholar who writes the introductory article on 'The Place of Methodism in the Life and Thought of the Christian Church' claims for Methodism a 'special place in the Catholic Church,' and holds that that position is due to 'the conjunction of belief in the authority of an organic Church with insistence upon the value and reality of individual experience as the final test.' He goes on to say that the emphasis laid by

Methodists on the importance of experience leads them to the conclusion that 'the Church is not a heterogeneous collection of unrelated individuals; it is a unity, animated and controlled by the one life of the Spirit.' . . . 'The reality of the life of the Catholic Church, the validity and growth of its experience, become manifest to all who have turned from the profitless wrangle of conflicting organizations to the study of the soul-history of the saints of God.' . . . 'In the sharper enunciation of this appeal to collective experience we find the main drift of present-day Methodist thought and development. The doctrine of the Church, the value of the judgement and experience of the Church in contrast to the isolated individual, the continuity of the one divine life running through all the centuries, the need of clearer recognition of an objective value in the sacraments as the ordinances of Christ—to these great truths of collective experience, Methodism to-day pays an ever-increasing attention.'

The conclusion of this valuable article summarizes the claim made by many of the most thoughtful of the younger Methodist ministers: 'We end as we began by claiming for Methodism a definite place in the progress and development of the one Holy Catholic Church. What the future may have in store of unions and reunions we know not. These things we are content to leave to the overruling of the Holy Spirit. In the eternal years of God two centuries of history are but as a day; nor can we argue from the present to the uncertainties of the future. But to ignore the fact of a Church which is to-day the largest Protestant Church in the world, with the possible exception of the Lutheran Church, is not only absurd but blasphemous.'

Dr. Newman, Dr. Pusey, and Dean Church regarded Keble as the 'true and primary author' of the High Church movement. If this be true, as it is no doubt to a great extent, the modern Wesleyan will be false to all the principles both of John and Charles Wesley just in so far as he gets

away from the teaching of their hymns, which contain that body of theology which is the possession of the whole Methodist people, and the influence of which is constantly telling upon them in their public services. The fact that the sacramental hymns of the Wesleys are still sung in Wesleyan chapels and the Anglican Order for the Administration of Holy Communion is still used by every Wesleyan Methodist minister, no doubt encouraged Bishop Winnington Ingram in the Eirenicon which he delivered last spring in Kingsway Hall to the Methodist people. In this important pronouncement, he stated that he set forth conclusions to which he had come, and for which he took the responsibility, as a result of a series of meetings held at London House in which some twenty bishops and clergy met a similar number of Methodist ministers and laymen. The scheme of union which the Bishop advanced left the Conference jurisdiction over its own property and over its own ministers, and arranged for the ordination by Bishops of all ministers entering into full connexion with Methodism after a fixed date, and the re-ordination of any who wish to be re-ordained. It further provided that all Wesleyan Methodist ministers in the reunited Church should be admitted to preach in the pulpits of the Establishment.

It is not proposed within the limits of this article to deal with the Methodist attitude towards this question. The difficulties would be obvious at once to every Methodist of having a Superintendent minister, ordained by Wesleyan ministers only, but having a young colleague ordained by a Bishop, the young colleague being entitled to celebrate Holy Communion in the Anglican church, and the Superintendent not being entitled to do so. This fact only would undoubtedly prevent the acceptance of the scheme by Methodists.

The importance of the Bishop's proposals, however, bears directly upon the recent discussion in the columns of *The Times* by various Bishops, on the question of the inter-

change of pulpits. At the first meeting of this committee the writer pointed out to the Bishops present the impossibility of their proposal being accepted by the fourteen hundred clergy representing the so-called 'Catholic' section of the Church of England, who had signed the petition in favour of the Reservation of the Sacrament. I ventured, in Methodist fashion, to give 'my own experience.' At a Conference held at the House of the Resurrection, Mirfield, members of that community, the Cowley Fathers, and other orders discussed the question of the extension of retreats, and I spoke on the question of retreats amongst the laity. One of the most devoted and charming of the Fathers, in conversation with me in the grounds of the House, answered a question which I put to him in the following terms: 'I have been confirmed in the Church of England; I am a Methodist layman; I have been to communion this morning as a confirmed member of the Church. Supposing next Sunday I went to communion at the Wesleyan chapel, what would be my position?' He promptly replied, in the kindest manner possible: 'You would *ipso facto* be excommunicate.' 'Now,' I said to the Bishops, 'what is to be the position of a Wesleyan minister, who has celebrated Holy Communion according to his own rite in a Wesleyan chapel one Sunday, and you propose to admit him to your pulpits next Sunday, he being, according to this Father of the Community "excommunicate"?' The Bishops smiled, but if the Bishop of Zanzibar had been present, he would not have smiled, but would have taken my argument as seriously as it had been intended to be taken.

The modest proposals set forth by the Bishop of Norwich and the Bishop of Winchester in the columns of *The Times* differ slightly. The Bishop of Norwich suggests that Free Church ministers 'might preach at our usual evening service, partly to remove the sermon from the Holy Communion, partly because already there is a tendency since

the war to make our evening service less formal.' The Bishop of Winchester suggests that Free Church ministers should preach sermons on occasions entirely distinct from the ordinary Church services, but otherwise his proposal does not differ from that of the Bishop of Norwich.

The Bishop of Zanzibar replies to the Bishop of Norwich's proposals published on September 18 in a letter published on September 26, in which he states his objections, which are akin to those of the Mirfield Father to whom I have referred. He says, 'These proposals assume that the various societies concerned are no longer pledged, in God's sight, to declare themselves each the true, necessary society for English Christians.' This is not the attitude of any of the Free Churches to-day. Secondly he protests 'that this is no time to settle with Free Churchmen on a basis of partial co-operation in worship and preaching, because on both sides there is a looseness of thought that makes our common acceptance of the Creed a mere farce.' Thirdly, such an invitation would be beyond the authority of English Bishops, and by so doing they would 'offend against both Church and State.' Lastly, that since Bishops 'cannot rightly and canonically invite a Free Churchman to a pulpit of our Church, parish priests who receive such preachers will be acting on their own responsibility alone.' If this be so there is no reason why parish priests should not 'without any reference to the Bishops, invite preachers from the Roman Church to their pulpits.' The Roman Bishops would no doubt 'permit selected priests to come to our pulpits out of service-hours, and give us a clear call back to the feet of St. Peter.'

The importance of this letter, however, is contained in its conclusion, in which the Bishop affirms that 'we are sinning against Christ, our Truth, if we in any way countenance the proposals of the Bishop of Norwich or Professor Bethune Baker, or even the more moderate scheme of the Bishop of Winchester,' and that such action on the part of

the Bishops would give offence to his own followers whom he terms 'Christ's weak ones.' Bishop Weston then goes on to say plainly that if the Bishops follow Bishop Pollock's advice, and certain parishes are in consequence unable to accept their Diocesan Bishop's ministrations, he will not hesitate to provide episcopal ministrations for these parishes. He declares that this will not be a schism. 'They will merely act as Bishops of the Catholic Church, whose limits of jurisdiction are temporarily removed by the unhappy action of certain other Bishops. It may help to make this clear if I instance as an example the Bishop of London's claim to confirm and ordain in North and Central Europe. He recognizes that some of Christ's flock are unable to communicate with certain diocesan Bishops on the Continent; and he provides for them. The Bishop of Norwich cannot then complain if he deliberately makes his ministrations impossible to some of his flock, and those members call upon another Bishop to provide for their souls.'

The Bishop of Zanzibar's letter raises in its most acute form the fundamental questions that divide English Christendom to-day. The difficulty of the situation is intensified by the fact that the fourteen hundred clergy who signed the appeal for Reservation and the eight hundred clergy who have banded themselves in a secret society to resist the Bishops in any departure from what they term Catholic faith or practice, include many of the most holy and devoted of the clergy of the Church of England. If we had to do merely with five per cent. of the clergy of a National Church, such five per cent. being latitudinarian and worldly men, it would be an entirely different matter; but we have to recognize the fact that the Mirfield Fathers, the Cowley Fathers, and many of the clergy whose names are almost household words in Anglican circles are devoting themselves to their work with a passion and an enthusiasm which is more like that of the early Methodist preachers than anything that England has known since the end of the eighteenth

century. There is, moreover, every evidence that, on the question of apostolic succession, the centre of gravity in the Church of England has moved distinctly to the right in the last fifty years. Before the full force of the teaching of Keble, Pusey, and Newman had made itself felt in the Church of England, the question of the interchange of pulpits, started by men of the weight and character of Bishop Talbot and Bishop Pollock, would have led to the adoption by the Church of the proposals which had such support. At that date, it may be doubted whether three clergymen out of four would have been prepared to argue or would have had any satisfactory arguments to advance in support of the dogma of apostolic succession. Steadily this dogma, although not incorporated in any of the Church's formularies, has come to be accepted by the overwhelming majority of the clergy.

Dr. J. M. Wilson, Canon of Worcester, and formerly Archdeacon of Manchester, preached a sermon before the University of Cambridge, on January 30, 1910, in which he declared that the history of the prophetic order in the Church is 'a charismatic ministry, performing all the offices of the ministry, including the celebration of the Eucharist, yet apparently without the sanction of ordination.' He then proceeded to ask whether the time had not come for a re-examination of the subject of Apostolical Succession, and concluded with the striking statement that 'Few of us know on what grounds and when the separation grew up between the conditions for what is called a valid Baptism and those for a valid Eucharist, and the limitation of the latter to men episcopally ordained.'

In response to this challenge, the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed the opinion that the time had arrived for scholars to state in a precise form the latest results of research on this point. No one can gainsay the scholarship of the men who, under Dr. Swete's editorship, have contributed their essays to deal with this vital question.

Whilst the volume as a whole is regarded by the supporters of Apostolical Succession as a conclusive vindication of their position, it is interesting to a Methodist to find the frankness with which Dr. Turner, the writer on Apostolical Succession, recognizes certain facts. It is very clearly brought out that Tertullian, the first writer to apply the term 'sacerdos' to the Christian ministry, used that term both of laymen and of priests. He asserts that 'if a layman were separated unavoidably from the organized Society he would have to act as a priest for himself.' 'Where there is no bench of clergy, you present the offering and baptize, and are your own sole priest.' (*Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus.*) More remarkable still is his statement: 'Wherever there are three Christians gathered together, although they be laymen, there is a Church.' (*Ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici.*) He argues in short that, since a layman is potentially a priest, and in case of necessity may act as one and celebrate both sacraments, it follows that he ought to be subject to the same moral discipline as that which is enjoined upon a priest. He does not deny the sacerdotal character of the ordained ministers of the Church, but he does lay emphasis on the potential priesthood of the lay people. All he claims is that the priest in the Church of Africa discharges functions which could not 'normally' be undertaken by a layman. It is interesting to find the frank recognition, also, in this essay, of the contention of Professor Lindsay at Grindelwald, that in the Early Church, at least according to the testimony of St. Irenaeus, the word 'presbyter' was applied frequently to bishops. Dr. Turner rather adroitly avoids the natural conclusion of the oft-quoted passage, '*Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei: et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia*', by saying that St. Augustine would probably hold that no schismatic body had any right to expect the indwelling of the Spirit. This may be true as far as regards the opinion of St. Irenaeus, but it is no

argument for those who contend that his words, whatever he meant by them, have been vindicated in their plain meaning by tens of thousands of pastors of the great Methodist bodies of England, America, Scandinavia, and other non-episcopal bodies. The Spirit has been poured out on their ministry, and they have proved '*Ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia.*'

It is, however, when we come to the conflict between the views of the two great African Bishops, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that we find in their difference of opinion with regard to baptism, the exact counterpart, as Canon Wilson points out, of the present division in the Church as to the effectiveness or validity of the administration of the Lord's Supper by those who are not in the line of the episcopal succession. St. Cyprian claimed that heretics who returned to the Church having received baptism outside of the Church must begin by receiving baptism in the Church, which he asserted to be not a second baptism, but a first. St. Augustine answered this argument as the Methodist answers the same argument with regard to the sacrament of Holy Communion to-day. 'The sacraments derive their validity not from the minister, who is nothing except as an agent, but from Christ as the only source of grace and power, and His power is the same everywhere'; 'it is the disposition of the recipient that matters: where his disposition is wrong they are received incompletely. . . . And the argument holds good for all sacraments, and not for Baptism only; let it be that a man has received Holy Orders at the hands of schismatics or heretics, still his Orders are real, and he can no more be given another ordination than another baptism.'

It is impossible in the limits of this article to trace the gradual movement away from the Cyprianic point of view in the direction of the Augustinian, but the conclusion of that controversy was that the baptism not only of schismatics but of heretics was by all Western Catholics admitted without

question. Is it not reasonable to contend that there is a solidarity of the sacraments, that what is true of one sacrament is true of the other, that if the midwife can baptize a dying child, the Pitcairn Islanders were wrong when they decided to await the arrival of a fully ordained clergyman, and that one of their number should have been selected to administer the Holy Communion and the rite of marriage to the others?

The importance of these issues cannot be exaggerated in their bearing on the question of union. It is of no use to obscure the issue by declaring that vital differences do not exist. The Bishop of Zanzibar's letter to *The Times* is a brief and faithful statement of his side of the case. Those who hold that he is mistaken have a sacred obligation to act according to their convictions, even at the cost of what he terms 'chaos in the Church.' The Bishops who believe that the time has come for them so far to recognize the ministry of other Churches as to invite the ministers to give addresses in their buildings, will be wanting in fidelity to the truth as they see it if they are deterred by the honest but uncompromising statements of Bishop Weston of Zanzibar from a line of action which, on its own intrinsic merits, commends itself to them. The real difficulty about so many of the Bishops of the Church of England is, as Dean Farrar once said to the writer, that 'when a Bishop is elevated to the episcopal bench, he immediately "gets mitral disease."' Hugh Price Hughes said, twenty years ago, that if the Bishops only had the courage of their convictions and would take up a line in defiance of temporal authority and public opinion, as the Bishops did who went to the Tower, the Church of England would become overwhelmingly powerful. Bishop Weston has the courage of his convictions; will the other Bishops show that they equally have the courage of theirs?

HENRY S. LUNN.

THE REFORM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

NOT very long ago the world consisted of nations relatively independent of one another; at the present time it is a place in which the various peoples meet and touch at all points. The amazing advance made in the various means of communication has created a sense of world-wide solidarity. Without constant progress in the capacity for work and effort, there is neither prosperity nor freedom: the man who cannot face competition will go under.

The most important of the questions on which the whole of the future depends is education. On the intrinsic worth of human beings, more than on anything else, will the fate of the nations rest. In the present crisis we must be ready for a complete modification of character if we would meet the requirements of the future.

Nevertheless, we cannot make a clean sweep of the present system of education in favour of an entirely new one. Renewed efforts must be made if we are worthily to face the changed situation created by the war. All the same, our education will remain essentially national and will thus preserve us from that dull and insignificant mediocrity which Henry James denounced under the name of 'social vagueness' as the great danger of modern cosmopolitanism.

Now, the thing that characterizes the world, as at present constituted, is the utilization of the forces of nature; man's power grows at an ever accelerating speed. This growing power in turn increases human ambition, that feverish longing for expansion and aggrandizement. A nation, then, will be capable of existing only on condition it works and produces, maintaining and developing its power and vitality, physically and intellectually. Thought and

action, theory and practice, science and industry, philosophy and life, soul and body : these dual aspects of our nature, often separated from or subordinate to each other, must henceforth be closely united, equally indispensable, taking each other for granted. Action must not be set above thought : how harmful would be a deed inspired solely by passion, instinct, or chance ! Nor, under the pretext of exalting thought, must action be disdained ; the aid of the latter is necessary for ensuring that thought shall obtain a true grip on the world of reality.

As regards education, we will deal first with its objects, then with the means of rendering it efficacious, and finally with its organization.

If we are earnest in our desire to train citizens anxious to be of service to their country, we must clearly distinguish between instruction and education, and regard the latter as superior to the former. Instruction supplies the instruments necessary for every action or attainment : it is a matter of the utmost importance. Education, however, enters directly into the formation of man himself, i.e. of the one who is to use instruction as the most powerful of tools for modifying the world and effecting the dominion of laws other than material. Education, therefore, must be the main object of our efforts ; our duty is to mould characters that possess within themselves the living springs of their growth and activity, to create free beings. How often have we appealed to our teachers to turn out men and not simply scholars : in other words to subordinate instruction to education. Let the entire school life consist of action and effort, reflection and method, the development of the interior qualities of the soul.

Is there not one of the objects of education which may be regarded as the basis of all the rest ? We often quote the motto : *Mens sana in corpore sano*, implying thereby that a healthy body is the natural accompaniment of a healthy mind. It is interesting to note that Juvenal, the author of

this phrase, said nothing of the kind. The text signifies : ' If you would pray reasonably to the gods, ask them for a sound mind in a sound body : seeing that no man, devoid of wisdom, can live happily.' And this is true : neither does the health of the body guarantee that of the mind nor vice versa. Both are alike necessary. In the health of the mind, too, we must carefully distinguish two elements : intellectual capacity and moral vigour, i.e., a sure judgement and the active will to do one's duty.

Thus there are three distinct branches of education : physical, intellectual, and moral. Each of these should be the object of special attention, for to make the body supple and strong, to expand the intellect, and to arm the will, are very different things. In itself, however, the soul of man is one ; and, as Plato says, with his whole soul must man aim after the Good, his own peculiar property. These three forms of education must nevertheless interpenetrate and unite if we would form the true man. Physical strength merely incites to violence when not tempered by intelligence and morality. Intellectual development is but dilettantism unless governed by moral respect for truth and honour. And self-mastery, even accompanied by an enlightened conscience, will not guarantee us freedom from selfishness or fanaticism unless controlled by reason and the sense of reality.

Now, we must strongly insist on the fact that a general culture of the body is no longer sufficient. We must each become early accustomed to use our strength and skill in the production of some definite work. Consequently, a certain professional physical culture will be obligatory in school life, varying according to the needs of the district.

Intellectual education calls for similar remarks. France must remain a powerful centre of classic education ; it is necessary that all instruction of whatsoever kind or degree be moulded by our classic tradition. This tradition consists in regarding the objects of study not as something

foreign to the mind, with which the mind provides itself for the sole purpose of applying them in the exploitation of nature or the satisfaction of idle curiosity, but rather as the eternally living thoughts of the greatest representatives of humanity, thoughts which we may make our own to some extent by meditation, reflection, and love, and which, if we prove worthy of them, will continue to live and fructify within ourselves, in order to perpetuate and render effective the most beautiful forms of the human ideal.

Not only things literary but scientific theories must be taught classically, in a manner calculated to develop the mind itself and all its powers. In the mathematics of a Descartes or the biological chemistry of a Pasteur there is something more than formulae or collections of facts passing from one brain into another like coins from hand to hand; there is breadth of view, perfection of form, elegance of method, love of truth and inviolable probity, intuition and sure criticism. To teach the sciences in such a way as to develop these intellectual and moral qualities in pupils is to teach them classically.

Not only is a liberal education necessary, we also need instruction which will prove an effective weapon in the struggle for existence. There is too prevalent amongst us a disposition to do things by routine, a desire for premature rest after too brief a period of productive labour, a vague dread of anything hazardous or unforeseen, a hasty and imprudent, though generous, judgement, which causes us to adopt, without adequate consideration, resolutions that appear to respond to our higher aspirations. These pernicious habits may effectively be overcome by instruction which will instil in youth a horror of inertia, dissipate obstinate prejudices, supply the needed elements of comparison, and kindle a desire after creative life. Science is a wonderful emancipator of intellect and activity when taught not as dogma or routine but as the incessant effort of the mind to grasp with ever greater firmness a reality which

becomes continually more complex and untrammelled, more grand and fruitful than our most learned theories.

Instruction, however lofty, must keep in touch with reality, and be set before the pupil in its practical efficacy as well as its ideal beauty. Study should be carried to the point at which it can be immediately utilized.

Moral education, too, should be both general and special. The main thing is to mould character, to create men who possess the principles and qualities implied by morally good conduct. It is customary to emphasize the importance of self-control, that *ἐγκράτεια* which Socrates regarded as the essential condition of morality. Perfectly true; nor can we too earnestly attempt to inculcate this master quality without which no one may call himself free. 'Liberty,' said Georges Clemenceau, 'is the power to discipline oneself.' Still, though self-control forms the basis of what is strictly called virtue, this latter, of itself alone, is not the whole of moral goodness. In the recent war, the Germans gave proof of a quality of soul which might indeed at times be designated as virtuous: obedience, willingness to suffer and to make superhuman effort, self-sacrifice. All the same, their conduct cannot be called moral; rather is it regarded by universal consent as radically immoral, seeing that the whole of their devotion but subserved ends opposed to the very idea of good. Assuredly we cannot do our duty unless we are able to govern ourselves, and expend our best energies in the service of justice and truth. Real morality comprises two elements: virtue and the pursuit of goodness.

Hence it is the task of moral education to teach men self-control and self-sacrifice, as well as to make them worthy of the cause of justice and right, in a word, of the cause of God. To be and to do: these twin elements of moral worth must not be separated from each other.

Now, what the nation expects of us, especially in our present circumstances, is work. The philosophers of old

regarded work as inferior to thought and morality, but at the present time no doubt is permissible as to its importance. Work is the exercise of our powers with a view to the material and moral improvement of human conditions; it is for all men a duty from which they cannot escape. Nor can we tolerate the application of the name of worker to one class of society alone; every man worthy of self-esteem must claim and merit this title.

The school must fit men for social life, enabling us to live understandingly with those different from ourselves in race, language, customs, opinions, and interests. There is one quality that has at times been somewhat disdained but has now acquired fresh importance: politeness. Compared with the totality of our duties towards our fellow beings, this quality counts for but little; still, it is the indication of these duties, for politeness is the art of checking manifestations of malevolence and exhibiting those of benevolence. It must not be used as a mask to conceal ill-feeling, but rather for helping men to come together in spite of the diversity of their ideas; to know, appreciate, and learn from one another.

Another thing worthy of serious consideration is the means of making instruction really effective. How many men, engaged in technical professions, base either their conduct or their opinions on the education they have received at school? Now, there is nothing inevitable about this relative effacement of school influence. We are well aware that an extreme and opposite tendency existed in Germany before the war, and that this Germany, whose object it was to conquer and enslave the world, is a product of the German school. From the philosopher Fichte to the historian Treitschke we find professors who have given the German soul the form that now characterizes it; the work accomplished by these powerful teachers is so intense and widespread that at the present time, quite apart from the Kaiser, the kings and princes, and the heads of public

organizations, there exists a German soul which, throughout every kind of upheaval and overthrow, will remain for an indeterminable period capable of creating a new organism for itself and displaying afresh its domineering ambitions.

A child always asks for the reasons why things happen. He expects his elders to be consistent ; he apprehends and condemns contradictions. Assuredly much can be done by carefully explaining things both to children and to adults, giving them an opportunity sanely to weigh the pros and cons of a question. They must, however, be made to feel that the instructor has no other motive than truth and justice. Both soul and will spontaneously listen to reason when it is really reason, and not interest or a domineering partisan spirit, that speaks.

The struggle against alcohol may be given as an instance. Here, the school is bound to play a most important part if it conscientiously sets forth the facts of the case. A really objective and scientific *exposé* will leave in the minds of the pupils a far deeper impression than will the most eloquent exhortation.

Thus, suitable instruction may do much to ensure the lasting and practical influence of the school ; though there is ever the risk that its effect may be superficial. If we would have the school the real teacher of our children, not only during school days but for the whole of life, it must itself become closely linked with the life both of the individual and of society. The artificial barriers that separate master and man, school and family and nation, must be broken down. Even now, the school ought of itself to be a complete and normal human society. Scholar and master are not beings of different species, incapable of mutual understanding and naturally inclined to tyrannize over each other. Nor do they constitute a hierarchy, wherein the one rules, gives good or bad marks, rewards or punishes with an assumption of superiority, whilst the other passively obeys and learns to be very good. Master

and pupils represent human beings who belong to different generations, and it is this fact that indicates the relations which should unite them.

Of recent years an attempt has been made to favour the idea that each generation has its own conception of the universe—to use a current barbarism, its own mentality—and that it is as impossible for one generation to understand another as for a circle to become a square. Assuredly, many changes take place in society, and if we would learn the lessons of the past and make it the instrument of fresh acquisitions, we may profitably teach the younger generations to keep in touch with those that have gone before. The permanence and life of a nation depend on this mutual intelligence and close sympathy between successive generations.

Now, if masters will but create moral and spiritual relations between themselves and their pupils, instead of external and material relations between superiors and inferiors, the school will quite naturally help forward that close communication between present and past generations for which the nation appeals. The pupil will spontaneously esteem the man of a past generation, from whom he is conscious of receiving inestimable boons which he could not have obtained of himself alone. The master, too, will gain much by teaching his pupils in a spirit of devotion and love, by instilling in them the qualities of faith and trust, initiative and generosity, candour and enthusiasm: delightful and stimulating virtues which the experience of life but tends too frequently to blast and destroy.

The school should also be intimately linked with the family. There is nothing that interests parents so much as their children's progress at school. By thus identifying itself with the family and with society in general, the school will quite naturally exercise the right kind of influence both on the young and on society, not perhaps so visible and direct an influence as the mechanical German training but

far more profound and dignified. One lesson that the war has taught the world is that discipline, based on esteem and mutual confidence, is after all more powerful than the most scientific mechanization of intellect and will.

The final object of our investigation deals with the organization of instruction. Here we are at once brought directly in contact with the question of liberty; we have both State schools and free schools, a *régime* whose continuance is not likely to be seriously threatened. The State offers both instruction and education, in so far as it is, as Rousseau well set forth, the representative not of a party, nor of the majority, but literally of every citizen without a single exception. Just as in the sight of God, so before the State all individuals are perfectly equal: the State does not recognize that any one of them should be sacrificed or subordinated to the rest.

Consequently, the State, *qua* professor, will not permit the exposition of doctrines calculated to offend the conscience or honest opinions of any one. Nevertheless, since life and progress demand bold initiative, effort and struggle in all directions, the State desires the realization, the opportunity for growth of that spirit of diversity and bold initiative which it cannot attempt to acquire itself. Far from being self-contradictory, it guarantees that common weal it is its mission to bring about by refusing all monopoly for itself, acknowledging free as well as public educational establishments, and ensuring that each father shall be at liberty to instruct his children as he deems best, on the understanding that he shows due respect for rightmindedness and for the law of the land.

One special pre-occupation is the problem of religious liberty in connexion with instruction. Futile to evade this problem, we do not solve a difficulty by ignoring its existence.

There is no need to state that any violation of liberty of conscience is a crime against one's country. One of the most disastrous of mistakes from which France suffered was

the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; the consequences are felt even at the present time. On the other hand, the war has shown how easy it is to work for the common good, even though all do not hold the same faith. Jealously maintain this 'sacred union,' as it has justly been called, and do not squander needed strength in absurd and barren strife.

We should also beware lest we stop short at that ill-defined attitude called tolerance. To tolerate is to bear with, to suffer that which by strict right—so we think—we may ban or condemn. Now, religious beliefs deserve something altogether different from a precarious condescension. There is considerable misunderstanding on this point. Certain advocates of moral education, which they regard as destined to replace religious education, imagine themselves to be in possession of a doctrine practically independent of religion and based on exclusively scientific principles. Such is not really the case. To confine oneself strictly to the domain of positive science would be to refuse to regard morality as anything more than a mass of blind traditional beliefs which science scatters to the winds. To take morality seriously is to place oneself on the ground occupied by religion, on the ground of the ideal, conceived as a supernatural end, towards the attainment of which it is incumbent upon and possible for us to contribute. It follows then that advocates of strict morality and those of religion should show one another respect, which is more than tolerance ; they should manifest a sympathetic acceptance of their mutual beliefs and cordially combine will and action in effecting the triumph of justice, freedom, and love, to which sublime ends both are alike devoted. Where shall we find any one who thinks exactly as we do on every subject ? Fortunately nowhere : the dignity and the progress of mankind depend on diversity. This primary condition of inner and affectionate harmony is really present in the partisans of all so-called secular morality which claims

to be genuine, as well as in the champions of so-called religious morality which has not ceased to be human : both mental attitudes are meant to understand and appreciate each other, to combine their efforts with a view to the saner and higher education of humanity.

Apart from general educational centres, the conditions of modern life require the existence of numerous special schools. There is no sphere of human activity which, at the present time, cannot be extended and made stronger by utilizing the resources of science. The saying that failure to advance means retrogression, for instance, finds no better application than in the world of economics. Now it is by appealing to science that progress is chiefly brought about. We may regard it as axiomatic that every trade presupposes scientific knowledge and a scientifically methodical training.

And so the numbers of special schools will continue to increase, and incessant care will be taken to effect the transition from the state of preparation to that of practical efficacy. Technical art and skill will increasingly become the object of endeavour, but along with this training there will be inculcated reasoning and reflection, a sense of general ideas, imagination, good taste, the love of things important in themselves and not simply for the advantages they carry with them.

These are a few of the principles which, in the present state of the world, seem as though they ought to control and direct national education. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the school and of the part it is called upon to play. Still, we must not forget that even the best organization is ineffective unless we regard it as our first duty to put our own shoulder to the wheel and to help one another with all our might.

Two very simple remarks in conclusion. First, it is not only at school, but during the whole of life, that we must study and learn. What the school should teach us is the need of learning, it should give us a number of principles

and methods enabling each one to learn for himself. At any age, indeed, we may learn, if we really wish to do so and use the right means. Memory, no doubt, is less ready and alert in the adult, especially in the aged, but reflection and reason take its place to some extent, and these have innumerable advantages of their own.

Secondly, it will ever be true that the future is not something ready-made from all eternity, and that all we need do is passively to wait for its appearance. The future is a work in process of creation; it will be what we make it. The very blessings we have most completely made our own remain with us only on condition we defend and conquer them anew with incessant perseverance and zeal. If we would prosper, and fulfil our national destiny, we must ever strive and work, duty spurring us onward to effort that is energetic and intelligent, methodical and united. May our motto, both now and in the future, be that which Marshal Pétain but recently gave to his soldiers: 'Work and watch!'

EMILE BOUTROUX.

Authorized translation by FRED ROTHWELL.

A CENTURY OF METHODIST LITERATURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

*Notes on a Bibliography of the Literature of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, 1816-1916.*¹ By the REV. W. MORLEY CRAMPTON. (Cape Town, 1916.)

Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography. By SIDNEY MENDELSSOHN, F.Z.S., F.R.C.I., &c. With a descriptive introduction by I. D. COLVIN, F.R.C.I. 2 vols. (London, 1910.)

Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to Africa south of the Zambesi, in the English, Dutch, French, and Portuguese Languages, in the Collection of George McCall Theal, Litt.D., LL.D. By G. M. THEAL. (Cape Town, 1912.)

‘IT was a fortunate thing for historians, philosophers, and every other kind of bookmaker,’ observes that genial essayist, Mr. Augustine Birrell, ‘when it became the habit to chop up the annals of mankind into centuries.’ Certainly the hundredth year of any important movement should not be allowed to pass without some recognition, since it completes a cycle and affords an opportunity for review and harvesting that could not be neglected without loss.

One hundred years ago, on April 10, 1820, the Rev. William Shaw, the young chaplain to a party of Wesleyan emigrant-members of the famous company of some 4,000 British settlers, landed at Algoa Bay, South Africa, to begin his labours as the Apostle of Methodism in south-eastern Africa, just four years after the arrival at Cape Town of the Rev. Barnabas Shaw, who was the pioneer on the western side. William Shaw was the John Wesley of south-eastern Africa, with much of that great little man’s

¹The writer owes a special debt to Mr. Crampton’s little brochure. Unfortunately it is now out of print. The expansion of the material into a small volume by Mr. Crampton would be welcomed by others beside his fellow gleaners in this particular field.

quiet intensity of spirit, tireless energy, and organizing ability. For years he was the most influential Christian minister in South Africa. The strong position which the Wesleyan Methodist Church occupies to-day in the midland and south-eastern portions of the Cape Province, in the large Native Territories, and even further north, is due, in a very large measure, to the foresight, the sagacity, the wide outlook, and the spiritual passion of this forward-looking missionary-statesman. In the gatherings that are to be held throughout South Africa to celebrate the arrival of the settlers, special attention will be devoted by the people called Methodists to the life and work of William Shaw.

In 1820 the exploration of the vast field of Bantu philology had scarcely begun : a few tentative translations of portions of Scripture had been made, but nothing had been printed ; and the literature dealing with the people, their traditions, customs, modes of thought, and ways of living was of the scantiest description. The missionaries of the Wesleyan Methodist Church have, during the century since Mr. Shaw's arrival, done much useful work in meeting the literary needs of the people to whom they have ministered, especially in the way of providing translations of the Scriptures, and they have also made important contributions to missionary literature, as well as to the literature of special South African interest. A few laymen of the Church have also done work that is worthy of notice. The centenary of the arrival of the British settlers, and the consequent founding of Methodist missions in south-eastern Africa, may serve as a fitting occasion to pass under review the main literary achievements of the century. Considerations of space will, of course, preclude a detailed description of all the publications that may be considered worthy of a place in a library of South African Methodist literature, but it should be possible in a single article at least to secure a satisfactory bird's-eye view of the whole.

To make literature serve life, Mr. Arthur Waugh has assured us, should be the aim of the man of letters. Tried by this test the writers connected with the Methodist Church in South Africa have an honourable record, for all the works which they have produced have a practical character. Methodism the world over is essentially a working Church. No provision is made to ensure lettered ease for its ministers. It knows nothing of cloistered deaneries or secluded rural vicarages where the atmosphere is congenial to intellectual speculation and literary artistry. In South Africa from the earliest times the Methodist ministers have been 'travelling' preachers in a very literal sense; for years their labours were those of pioneers, and even when conditions were more settled it was only by snatching an hour here and another there, very often in the brief intervals of lengthy journeys involving considerable physical toil, that they were able to devote attention to literary tasks. The wonder is that they accomplished so much.

Pride of place must be given to the translations of the Holy Scriptures into the Kaffir tongue. Wesleyan missionaries were very prominent in this work. Ministers of the Glasgow Society, and of the Berlin Society, it is true, shared in the pioneering labours in this realm, but the main burden fell upon the Wesleyan missionaries; in fact for some twenty years previous to the completion of the Old Testament in 1857-9, the work seems to have been left almost entirely in their hands. In all their labours they were heartily backed and encouraged by the Home Society, which recognized the vast importance of translation work. To John Whittle Appleyard, a son of the Manse, and a Kingswood boy, belongs the honour of giving the native people of the land the Bible in the Kaffir tongue. Like Tyndale, Appleyard entered into the labours of less-known predecessors. The earliest translations of entire books of the Bible by Wesleyan missionaries were made by the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury. Other pioneers were William Shaw,

R. Haddy, W. B. Boyce, W. J. Davis, John Ayliff, W. Shepstone, W. H. Garner, J. C. Warner, and H. H. Dugmore. But Appleyard did not depend entirely on the labours of others; he scrupulously worked over every verse from Genesis to Revelation. Few men were better qualified for the task; he had a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, and Kaffir, and in the wide realm of Bantu philology he could pick his way like a gamekeeper over a moor. The first complete edition of the Kaffir New Testament was published by the Mission Press at Fort Peddie and Newtondale in 1846, and the Old Testament was completed and printed at the Mount Coke Mission Station in 1859, under Appleyard's supervision. Separate books of the Old and New Testaments were printed and circulated prior to 1846 in order to meet urgent needs, and the copies of these early productions are exceedingly scarce and valuable to-day. A revised edition of the whole Bible was printed at the cost of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1864, the revision being carried out in England by Mr. Appleyard, at the Society's expense. Appleyard did not shine in the pulpit; he had a frail body, a weak voice, and a rather ponderous style, but in the difficult sphere of translation work he had no peer in South Africa, and the Kaffir Bible is an imperishable monument to his memory.¹ A complete bibliography of Wesleyan Scripture translations in the Kaffir tongue, we are assured by that indefatigable Methodist bibliographer, Rev. W. Morley Crampton, of Cape Town, in his valuable *Notes on a Bibliography of the Literature of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*, would show some sixty separate publications. The present writer, however, believes that the number would be even higher. The first translation of a

¹ Appleyard's *Apology for the Kaffir Bible* (1867) is a masterly reply to the criticisms passed on his translation by various missionaries, and contains much valuable information as to how and by whom the earliest translations were made, and in what numbers the separate portions were circulated.

portion of Scripture in the Swazi tongue was made in 1846 by a Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. James Allison, a sturdy pioneer of the best type. From the small Mission Press at Platberg there came in 1851 and in the following year the first Sesuto versions of the Epistles of John and the Book of Revelation. While engaged in arduous pioneering work in what is now south-west Africa the Rev. Henry Tindall translated portions of the New Testament into Nama-Hottentot. The manuscript of St. Matthew's Gospel has an honoured place in the famous Sir George Grey collection at Cape Town. Coming to recent times the New Testament has been translated into Shona by the Rev. John White, who completed this important task in 1905. Two years later the Rev. Avon Walton translated Genesis and Psalms into the same tongue. The late Rev. G. Rolland took an active part in the revision of Sechuana New Testament. And still the bright succession runs. The Rev. H. L. Bishop, of Lourenço Marques, has shared in the honourable task of preparing a version of the Old Testament Scriptures in Ronga, and is now at work on the New Testament, while a Committee, appointed by the South African Conference, is assisting in the work of revising the Xosa Bible.

Exceedingly valuable foundation work was done in the realm of linguistic research by some of the early missionaries; indeed much of the success of the translation labours already noticed was due to the activity of these pioneers. A notable book was the *Grammar of the Kaffir Language*, prepared by the Rev. W. B. Boyce at his lonely mission station in Kaffirland, and published by the Wesleyan Press at Grahamstown in 1834. This was the first grammar of the language, and its publication marked a new era in linguistic study in South Africa, for as a result of long and patient research Mr. Boyce had found the key to the structure of not only the Kaffir language but the whole family of Bantu languages. For years the secret of the accidence had eluded the missionaries. With the aid of

his young pupil Theophilus Shepstone (afterwards Sir Theophilus Shepstone) Mr. Boyce collected a large number of words and sentences as spoken by the people ; he classified the collection, reduced the whole to a certain degree of order, and then searched for the laws that governed the structure of the sentences. For long hours in the quiet of the evenings Boyce wrestled with the problem, discussing it with young Shepstone, who, being a missionary's son, had grown up in the country, and could speak Kaffir like a native, but the scheme of the language was slow to reveal itself. Of some service to Mr. Boyce was that early *Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language* published in 1826 by John Bennie. Then one day, so the story goes, Boyce was repeating aloud words and sentences that the ear might aid the eye when in a sudden flash of perception he saw that the structure of the language was governed by a law which he felt sure was the missing key. Greatly startled were the natives who happened to be near when the usually sedate *Umfundis* rushed capering out of his hut shouting at the top of his voice, 'Eureka ! Eureka !' What Boyce discovered was that in the Kaffir sentences the noun was the governing element and that all the other parts of speech were thrown immediately into an alliterative or euphonic concord with the subject noun. He named the principle the 'Euphonic Concord.' That day the foundation for all subsequent students of the Bantu family of languages was well and truly laid. The story of the discovery, of which we have but given the barest outline, is one of the romances of language study. Mr. Boyce rendered distinguished service to his Church in various capacities, but none of his work can be more lasting in its results than the discovery which rewarded his patient labour at the Buntingville Mission Station. The Rev. James Archbell's *Grammar of the Bechuanana Language* (1837) is another first work. *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua-Hottentot Languages* (1857), by the Rev. Henry Tindall, appeared at a time when little

had as yet been done in the study of Hottentot language, and received a hearty welcome. It was published at the request and personal expense of Sir George Grey. The publication of *The Kaffir Language* in 1850, by Mr. Appleyard, marked another stage of progress along the difficult path of an understanding of the Kaffir tongue. This book is an able philosophical treatise on the history and nature of the Kaffir language. The eminent South African philologist, Dr. W. H. Bleek, wrote of it: 'It is almost unnecessary to state that this is a work of the highest importance and value to South African philology, and it is indeed to be wished that all languages were treated in this comprehensive and accurate manner.' *A Grammar of the Kaffir Language* appeared from the pen of the Rev. W. J. Davis in 1872. Davis edited and revised Boyce's *Grammar*; he published a valuable *Kaffir-English Dictionary* in 1872, and followed it up five years later by a companion volume, the *English-Kaffir Dictionary*, which, revised in 1903 by the Rev. W. Hunter, is still widely used. The Rev. John Ayliff compiled a useful *Vocabulary of the Kaffir Language* in 1846, a second edition of which appeared in 1863. The works on the Zulu language are limited to some half a dozen publications, as it did not fall to the lot of the Wesleyan missionaries to undertake pioneering work to any great extent among the Zulu people. The Rev. Charles Roberts wrote *The Zulu-Kaffir Language Simplified* (1874), *English-Zulu Dictionary* (1880), *The South African Traveller's Handbook* (1879), a glossary and phrase book, *The Zulu Manual* (1900). Several of these works have had a wide circulation. A useful *Zulu Vocabulary and Phrase Book* was published by the Rev. John Allsopp in 1865.

Numerous contributions have been made to Kaffir literature. The first book published in the language by Wesleyan missionaries was a translation of the first part of the Conference Catechism, made by the Rev. William Shaw in 1830. Other publications include elementary theo-

logical works, tracts, histories, school readers, and translations of *Wesley's Sermons* and *Arthur's Tongue of Fire*. Among the ministers who have shared in the work of translation and in providing useful Kaffir literature, other than those already mentioned, are the Revs. H. H. Dugmore, E. J. Barrett, E. J. Warner, and T. R. Curnick. The Rev. W. Hunter's *Umhlobo Wabashumayeli* (The Preacher's Friend), 1870, is selling steadily to-day in a seventh edition. Several volumes of *Bible Stories* by Rev. J. S. Morris have a good circulation. As an indication of future possibilities it may be noted that the Rev. E. J. Mqoboli, a native minister, has written *Intyila-Zwi*, a Manual of Theology (1906), now in its third edition, *I Bandla lama Wesile* (Methodism in South Africa), (1908). Mr. Mqoboli is a Methodist of the third generation, and he is the first South African native to write a manual of theology. *U-Tandiwe wakwa Gcaleka* is an interesting little work by Miss L. Kakaza, a native minister's daughter. Mr. I. Bud-M'belle, a prominent lay member of the Church, has written in English a very useful *Kafir Scholar's Companion* (1903), which has won high praise. A recent work is *Umzingisi Akanashwa* (Perseverance Prevails), by Rev. J. W. Owen.

The *Kaffir Hymn-Book* is a notable publication. It appeared for the first time in the thirties of the last century, and has had a marked influence on the development of Christian native thought. About a third of the hymns are from the pen of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, one of the original settlers of 1820, who migrated with his parents from Birmingham, and who was poet and musician, as well as preacher. About thirty editions of the book have appeared up to the present time. The Shona Hymn-Book was compiled by Rev. A. Walton.

The contributions to literature in Zulu, Sechuana, Sesuto, and other South African tongues are somewhat scanty. A small elementary work in Sechuana, containing the alphabet, easy sentences, the Lord's Prayer, and the

Ten Commandments, was prepared by the Rev. Samuel Broadbent at Maquassi in 1823, and printed a little later in Cape Town. This was the first publication in the language. No copy is known to exist to-day, unfortunately. Catechisms, spelling-books, hymn-books, and Bible stories appeared later in the same tongue, and also in the Sesuto language. In Zulu there is a *Life of Carvosso* (1861), by the Rev. J. Jackson, hymn-books, reading-books, and catechisms, mainly the work of the Rev. C. Roberts and the Rev. J. Allsopp. The Catechism was first translated into Swazi in 1846 by the Rev. James Allison. The Rev. John White has done good pioneering work in providing catechisms and school books of many kinds in the Shona tongue. What few publications there are in the Dutch language have been prepared for the use of the coloured congregations, people of a mixed race who speak Afrikaans, the colonial Dutch. *A Question Book*, prepared and published by the Rev. Barnabas Shaw, not long after his arrival at the Cape in 1816, is probably the first Methodist publication in South Africa.

Our pioneers, unfortunately, had little time to record their actual experiences in book form; they had romantic and thrilling adventures, too, in abundance, for they were, in many cases, in direct contact with a barbarism that was untouched in any way by civilization. The Rev. Stephen Kay was the first missionary to tell the story of his labours. His *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, published in 1833, after his return to England, is the work of a keen observer and a close student of native life and customs. An engraving in a leaflet issued by the Missionary Society in 1821 depicts Mr. Kay crossing the Orange River in his ox-wagon. This is the earliest known publication relating to South African Methodism. Barnabas Shaw's *Memorials of South Africa* (1840) contains one of the best descriptions of the native races published up to this period. *A Missionary Narrative* (1842), by Samuel Young, is a good account of

evangelistic labours in Kaffirland. William Shaw's *Story of My Mission* (1860) is in the opinion of Dr. Theal, the South African Freeman, who dispenses praise as judiciously as the proverbial Scot disposes of his coins, a 'trustworthy account of the occurrences that came under his observation.' It is vastly more : it is the record of labours that changed the whole face of south-eastern Africa. *South Africa Delineated* (1850) is an interesting work by the Rev. Thornley Smith. *A Narrative of the First Introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong Tribe of Bechuanas* (1865), by Samuel Broadbent, is a plain unvarnished tale of some amazing and thrilling experiences in an unexplored country. Broadbent and his colleague, T. L. Hodgson, were the first white men to reside in what is now the Transvaal. William Moister's *Memorials of Missionary Labours* (1866) and the *Story of My Life* (1886) contain much information about the work in the Cape District particularly, of which Moister was the Chairman for some years. Benjamin Ridsdale tells a good story of his labours in *Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand* (1883). A particularly racy and entertaining volume is the *Reminiscences of Early Life and Missionary Labours* by John Edwards, a son of Devon, first published in 1883. During his fifty years of ministerial life in South Africa Edwards probably rode as many miles on horseback as John Wesley himself. He has wonderful tales to tell of wagons jolting over heaps of human skulls in the long grass, of adventures with wild animals, of the famous trek of the Barolong people, of fording swollen rivers on logs to get to the annual Synod, and of stirring missionary experiences. In *Leaves of a Life*, published in 1912, events of a later time and personal experiences are dealt with by Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott.

The contributions dealing particularly with the ever present Native Question include a few notable publications. The Rev. W. C. Holden published *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races* in 1866—a volume which is recognized as

one of the standard works on South African natives in the middle of the nineteenth century. The same writer was also responsible for *The Labour Question* (1883), and *British Rule in South Africa, Illustrated in the Story of Kama and His Tribe* (1879). In the *Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs* (1858) there are important articles by the Revs. H. H. Dugmore, John Ayliff, and J. C. Warner. *Native Policy in Natal* (1906) is a concise summary by the Rev. F. Mason. In the *History of the Abambo* (1912) we have the moving story of the Fingo people as recorded by John Ayliff and Joseph Whiteside. Rev. Charles Pamla, a native minister, published in 1913 a useful little volume on *Native Customs*.

The works relating to the various Kaffir wars are now numbered among the rare and valuable South African books. *Notes on South African Affairs* (1838), by the Rev. W. B. Boyce, is described by Dr. Theal as 'one of the very best volumes of its time with reference to South Africa.' Stephen Kay's *Succinct Account of the Caffer's Case* (1837) aroused much controversy when published. Very cogent and convincing are William Shaw's *Letter to the Earl of Aberdeen* (1835), and his *Defence of the Wesleyan Missionaries in South Africa* (1839). Some able contributions made by Mr. Robert Godlonton, one of the original 1820 settlers, for many years a prominent lay member of the Church and the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*, known as the *Settlers' Bible*, may be noted here. These include *Introductory Remarks to a Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province* (1835-6); *A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes* (1836); *Narrative of the Kaffir War of 1850-51-52* (1852); *Sunshine and Cloud* (1855), and the *Case of the Colonists of the Eastern Frontier* (1847).

The first considerable work dealing with the history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Africa appeared in 1877 from the pen of the Rev. W. C. Holden, but in his

History of Wesleyan Missions in all parts of the World (1871) Moister devotes a chapter to South African Methodism as a whole. A revised edition of Holden's book appeared in 1887. The Rev. J. Whiteside's comprehensive *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa* was issued in 1906 with the authority of the Conference. Mr. Whiteside has also told the story of Methodism in South Africa in the *New History of Methodism*. In his valuable little book, *A Mission to the Transvaal* (1906), the Rev. Amos Burnet traces the growth of the Church in the Transvaal and Swaziland district, dealing particularly with the expansion that has taken place since the Anglo-Boer War. The Rev. W. Eveleigh's *Short History of Methodism in South Africa* (1913), now in its third edition, is an outline. In *Christian Adventures in South Africa* the Rev. William Taylor (afterwards Bishop Taylor) has left on record the wonderful story of his revival experiences in 1866. Thomas Cook's *Mission Tour in South Africa* (1893) tells of a quiet but deep work of grace. Missionary history of another type is found in such volumes as Ayliff's *Memorials of the British Settlers* (1845), William Shaw's *British Settlers' Memorial* (1844), T. B. Glanville's *Settlers' Commemoration Sermon* (1856), Dugmore's racy *Reminiscences of an Albany Settler* (1871), his *Jubilee Sermon* (1871), Moister's *Missionary Stories, Facts and Incidents*, and Godlonton's *Memorials of the British Settlers* (1844).

In really good biographies, suitable for the modern reader, our South African Methodist literature is weak, though the lives of the pioneers have afforded material for missionary biographies of enthralling interest. Among the works that have appeared are Moister's *Barnabas Shaw* (1877), William Shaw's *Memoir of Mrs. Anne Hodgson* (1836), *Life and Labours of Rev. Edward Cook* (1849), Boyce's *Memoir of William Shaw* (1874), *Memorials of the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury* (1869), Broadbent's *Memorial of William Threlfall* (1857), *The Story of William Threlfall* (1910), by the

Rev. Thomas Cheeseman, Thornley Smith's *Memoirs of the Rev. Horatio Pearse* (1864), J. W. Appleyard (1881), and T. Laidman Hodgson (1854), a *Brief Memoir of John Ayliff* (1862), of Samuel Broadbent (1870). Mr. Telford's *Makers of our Missions* (1895) fills a gap, but Mr. Telford, of course, is not to be numbered among the South African missionaries.

Then there is what may be called the controversial literature. This has more interest than value to-day, but some of it was a most important contribution to the thought of the time when it appeared. The most notable publications are those which centre in the epistolary conflict between the Roman Catholic Bishop of Grahamstown and Dr. Moran on the one side and the Rev. W. Sargeant and the Rev. Thomas Guard on the other. Mr. Sargeant wrote three lengthy and closely-reasoned pamphlets entitled *Checks to Popery* in 1868, in which he used some heavy argumentative artillery against the Romanist position. The Bishop replied with the *Checker Checkmated*, but it took more than this to check the doughty William Sargeant. 'The Doctor has shown himself,' wrote Mr. Sargeant, 'thoroughly schooled in the arrogant assumptions, the subtle sophisms, the bold dogmatism, the personal abuses, and the supercilious contempt for an opponent, so characteristic of the polemic writers of his Church.' Mr. Guard wrote *Four Letters to Bishop Moran* in 1869 in the highly rhetorical style characteristic of this South African Morley Punshon. The Bishop replied in a pamphlet with the delightful title *How the Rev. W. Sargeant and the Rev. Thomas Guard Love the Truth and Tell It*. The Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury was moved to write *Sixteen Reasons for the Prayer Book* at Grahamstown in 1834, which provoked some little public discussion when reprinted in 1836. Barnabas Shaw made a vigorous defence of open-air services in *Divine Service in the Open Air no New Thing* in the early days of his ministry in Cape Town, when the innovation of open-air gatherings was much criticized. High Anglican teaching

in Queenstown in 1878 greatly stirred the Rev. H. H. Dugmore, who delivered his soul in a pamphlet, *Dissent Within the Church of England. Who shall decide when Doctors Differ?* followed two years later from the same pen. Religious controversy, however, has not filled a very large place in the life of the South African Church.

The works of general South African interest include a few volumes that have secured a wide publicity. James Archbell's *Description of Natal* (1841) was the first authentic description of the Colony to appear in print. Holden's *History of Natal* (1855), was a first attempt at a systematic history of the Colony. Two *Lectures on Great Namaqualand* (1856), by Henry Tindall, afford valuable information. The Rev. Charles Pettman's *Africanderisms* (1913) is a first work in an uncharted realm which secured the distinction of a full front-page review in the *Times Literary Supplement*. 'Such a book marks a philological landmark,' said the writer of the review. Mr. Pettman's volume is certainly one of the most notable contributions to the growing lore of South Africa which has appeared in recent years. The same writer's *Notes on South African Place Names* (1915) is another volume that breaks new ground. *South-West Africa* (1915), by William Eveleigh, was the earliest work in English on what was formerly German south-west Africa. *Children of Rhodesia* (1913) is a vivid picture of native child life by the Rev. Herbert Baker. Other publications include *South Africa* (1875), *Abroad and at Home* (1878), both by T. B. Glanville; important articles contributed to scientific and philosophical societies by the Rev. Nendick Abraham, F.R.M.S., and the Rev. Dr. Flint, ex-President of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science; numerous geography and history books for schools by Rev. J. Whiteside, and various works by lay members of the Church. Since his retirement in England the Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott, a son of the Settlers, and for many years a minister in South Africa, has published *The Tabernacle*,

Solomon's Temple, and the *Second Temple in Jerusalem*. The volumes by the laymen include *Sketches of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope* (1842), by Robert Godlonton, *Truth about the New Gold Fields* (1884), by R. Richards, *Angora Goat Farming* (1885), by Charles Lee, J. B. Hellier's *Stock Breeding* (1886), S. Cawood's *Hints on Cotton Culture* (1886), and G. C. Cato's *Disturbances in Natal* (1888).

No writer of fiction has appeared in the ranks of the ministers, though it may be noted that Mr. N. Paul Abraham, a son of the Manse, now a probationer, wrote *A Child in the Midst* before entering the ministry. Mr. F. Horace Rose and Mr. Ernest Glanville, two of the most popular of living South African writers of fiction, are sons of Wesleyan ministers.

The first volume of sermons by a South African minister has yet to appear, though many single sermons preached on 'special occasions' have seen the light of public print. A thoughtful volume, *Expository Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* was published in 1882 by the Rev. W. Tyson, a close student of the Pauline Epistles. A very useful *Manual of Instruction* for persons seeking membership in the Church is in circulation from the pen of the present President of the South African Conference, the Rev. J. Pendlebury, B.A. A larger *Manual*, written by the Rev. Stanley Bown in chaste and lucid style, is widely used in the Transvaal.

The Muses do not appear to have paid many fruitful visits to our Manses, since no minister has been inspired as yet to send out a volume of poems. That born versifier, Rev. H. H. Dugmore, wrote many poems, a number of which were published singly at different times. Some of Mr. Dugmore's songs, set to music by himself, have been very popular. Dr. Flint's little collection of *Hymns and Songs for various Occasions* has had a wide vogue, and some of the hymns have found their way into church and school hymnals. *Songs and Poems* (1904), by Mr. William Coster,

the veteran Pondoland lay missionary, has some interesting poems on missionary life.

In conclusion it may be noted that the *Methodist Churchman*, which is 'published in the interests of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa by order of the Conference,' is the successor of various periodicals that have represented the Church, no less than five of which were printed in the native languages. The *Methodist Churchman* saw the light in its present form in 1896, and is the only ecclesiastical weekly published in English in the country. A Kaffir *Joyful News* (*Indaba Zovuyo*) came to birth early last year and is issued monthly.

Most of the publications brought under review, it is interesting to know, have been printed by our early Mission Printing Presses in this land, by the London Book Room, or by the Cape Town Book Room. On the whole there is good reason to be proud of the varied literary achievements of the century. All honour to the men who scorned delights and lived laborious days that they might make their contribution to the higher life of the people to whom they were called to minister.

WILLIAM EVELEIGH.

THE METHODIST REVIVAL

IN a first-rate work entitled the *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky, published in 1878, in vol. ii. and at the beginning of chap. ix. on 'The Religious Revival,' we read as follows. 'Although the career of the elder Pitt and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes of the reign of George II, they must yield, I think, in real importance to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and of Whitefield. The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect, extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history.'

This judgement is confirmed in another first-class work, published in 1874, *A Short History of the English People*, by John Richard Green; and by modern writers of all kinds. This great movement was due, as all admit, to the unique personality of John Wesley. So Green, on p. 719 of the above work, after mentioning the great value of Charles Wesley's hymns, goes on to say that 'it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the vast movement, but the very movement itself.' In this paper we shall seek for the elements in him which led up to this marvellous result.

In his various writings, John Wesley tells us his own story. In his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, published in 1766, he says, 'In the year 1725, being the twenty-

third year of my age, I met with Bishop Taylor's *Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying*. In reading several parts of this book, I was exceedingly affected; that part in particular which related to purity of intention. Instantly I resolved to dedicate all my life to God, all my thoughts, and words, and actions.' This resolute consecration, which was maintained through life, was a chief factor in the Methodist Revival.

In November, 1729, others like-minded began to meet regularly with John and Charles Wesley to read, chiefly the Greek Testament. In October, 1735, the brothers left England for the newly-founded colony of Georgia in America. His reason for thus breaking away from many ties and bright prospects at home, John Wesley tells us in a letter to Dr. Burton, No. xxv. in a long list of letters in vol. xii. of his *Works*. 'My chief motive, to which all the rest are subordinate, is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen.' To the common objection that there are heathen at home, he justly replies that the heathen here have the gospel at their doors, whereas the Indians in America have none to teach them. The letter closes with the great promise in Matt. xix. 29. The whole case reveals an intelligent and unreserved loyalty to Christ and to the Kingdom of God. With deep interest we watch the result of a sacrifice so noble, by a young man so richly endowed.

The result was, or rather seemed to be, a pitiful failure. Wesley's feelings on his return to England find pathetic expression in his published *Journal*, for February 1, 1738. 'It is now two years and almost four months since I left my native country, in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learnt myself in the meantime? Why (what I the least of all suspected), that I who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God. . . . This, then, have I learnt in the ends of the earth—that I "am fallen short of the glory

of God"; that my whole heart is "altogether corrupt." And much more in the same strain.

The correctness of this description of himself, Wesley afterwards doubted, and we need not discuss it. A man of his consistent loyalty to God and to the Kingdom of Christ cannot justly be said to be unconverted. But these sad words prove clearly that he had not found the salvation for which he was so earnestly seeking.

Nevertheless already a light was slowly dawning. Among his fellow travellers to America were some lowly folk who attracted Wesley's attention by their Christian demeanour; and who in a great storm, while others feared, fearlessly expressed their complete confidence in God. Evidently these men, women, and children had learnt something unknown to the clever Oxford don. Driven by persecution from Moravia, they were seeking a home across the Atlantic where they would be free to serve God in their own way.

On his arrival in Georgia, Wesley soon met their pastor, A. G. Spangenberg, already there; a godly, scholarly, and very able German Lutheran, who had left brilliant prospects in a German university in order to guide and help these lowly wanderers. From him, a man somewhat younger than himself, Wesley sought advice; and received this answer: 'My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit, that you are a child of God?' Wesley says, in his *Journal*, 'I was surprised and knew not what to answer.' He made an attempt, but adds, 'I fear they were vain words.' These abrupt questions evoked lasting and blessed results.

After less than two years, Wesley's manifest failure in Georgia compelled him to return to England, where he landed on February 1, 1738. A few days earlier, Peter Boehler, another godly and scholarly Lutheran, some ten years younger than Wesley, had reached London, on his way to join Spangenberg as a helper for the refugees. On

Tuesday, February 7, 1738, which in his *Journal* Wesley calls 'a day much to be remembered,' he met Boehler at the house of a Dutch merchant. With him, both brothers had frequent and all-important conversation, especially touching the nature of Saving Faith.

This conversation had immense influence on each of the brothers. So in the *Journal* for March 23 we read, 'I met Peter Boehler again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith—the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it.' Characteristically he adds, 'The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by "the law and the testimony"; and being confident that God would hereby show me whether this doctrine was of God.'

On May 4 he tells us that 'Peter Boehler left London, in order to embark for Carolina.' John Wesley adds, 'O what a work hath God begun, since his coming into England! Such a one as shall never come to an end, till heaven and earth pass away.' On May 10 he writes, 'From this time till Saturday 13, I was sorrowful and very heavy; being neither able to read, nor meditate, nor sing, nor pray, nor do anything. Yet I was a little refreshed by Peter Boehler's letter, which I insert in his own words.' The letter is in Latin; but Wesley adds a translation from which I quote a part.

'I love you greatly, and think much of you in my journey, wishing and praying that the tender mercies of Jesus Christ the Crucified may be manifested in your soul: That you may taste and then see, how exceedingly the Son of God has loved you, and loves you still; and that so you may continually trust in Him, and feel His life in yourself. . . . O how great, how inexpressible, how unexhausted is His love! Surely He is now ready to help; and nothing can offend Him but our unbelief. The Lord bless you! Abide in faith, love, teaching, the communion of saints; and briefly, in all which we have in the New Testament. I am, your unworthy Brother, Peter Boehler.'

In the pages following, of his *Journal*, John Wesley gives his experiences up to May 24, also an account of his earlier life and a further account of his conversation with Boehler. Touching the above day, he says, 'In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved me from the law of sin and death.'

After this, all is changed. Wesley says, as time goes on, less and less about his own experience, but very much about what he saw and heard touching the work of God. Within three weeks he left England and went across to Holland, and soon afterwards into Germany, where he visited the Moravian settlements at Marienborn and Herrnhut. The account, in his *Journal*, of these visits is most interesting. On his return to England he at once began his life-work. On Sunday, September 17, he writes, 'I began to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation.' On Monday, April 2, 1739, he says, 'At four in the afternoon, I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking to about 3,000 people.' His narrative, to this point, is worthy of most careful study.

About John Wesley's subsequent inner life we know very little. We have only casual indications. Even in his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, published in 1766, he tells us very little about his later experience. But the great contrast between Sermon 40, on 'Christian Perfection,' published apparently in 1741, and Sermon 43 on 'The Scripture Way of Salvation,' published as a pamphlet in 1765, reveals, during this long course of years, the writer's immense spiritual progress. As a compact statement of Wesley's mature thought about the great doctrines which

inspired the Methodist Revival, it is of more practical value than all his other sermons put together. Compare also Sermon 14, dated 1767, and Sermon 23.

In Sermon 43 he asserts again and again that, as we are justified by faith, so are we sanctified by faith; and very forcibly describes this saving faith. He also urges his readers to accept here and now this great salvation. 'Look for it then every day, every hour, every moment! Why not this hour, this moment? Certainly you may look for it *now*, if you believe it is by faith. And by this token you may surely know whether you seek it by faith or by works. If by works, you want something to be done *first, before* you are sanctified. . . . If you seek it by faith, you may expect it *as you are*; and if as you are, then accept it now.'

The Wesleys grasped the great truth that, whatever God desires us to be, He will Himself work in us by the Holy Spirit. So Ph. ii. 13: 'It is God who works in you both to will and to work, for His good pleasure.' From Gal. ii. 19, 20, we learn that this New Life is to 'live for God': and Paul goes on to say, 'No longer do I live, but Christ lives in me; and the life which I now live in flesh I live in faith, of the Son of God who loved me and gave up Himself on my behalf.' This great doctrine changes the whole aspect of human life in its relation to God. Each command now becomes a promise of what God will do for us and in us.

This sermon is the only worthy statement we have, by John Wesley, of the most characteristic doctrine of the Methodist Revival. It is forcibly quoted by the late Dr. Shaw Banks on p. 215 of his *Manual of Christian Doctrine*.

In this sermon, Wesley has not noticed the fact that his exposition of 'The Scripture Way of Salvation' follows very closely a far earlier and infinitely greater exposition of the same, viz., the Epistle to the Romans, chaps. i.-viii. After personal matters, we read in Rom. i. 16 that 'the Gospel . . . is a power of God for salvation to everyone who believes.' Then follows in chaps. i. 18-iii. 20, a proof

that both Gentiles and Jews need such salvation ; and in chaps. iii. 21-v. an exposition of Justification by Faith, i.e. the Gospel of Pardon. In chap. vi. we have a description of the New Life in Christ, following justification, as a death to sin, closely related to Christ's death on the cross, and as a new life of devotion to God closely related to the life of the risen Saviour. The aim of this new life is, in v. 19 and again in v. 22, called *Sanctification*. Paul bids his readers to *reckon* it to be already theirs. This reckoning can be no other than the mental process of saving *Faith*, which in ch. iv. Paul has already illustrated by the faith of Abraham.

In chap. viii, the Apostle goes on to teach that, of this new life of devotion to God, the Holy Spirit is the animating principle ; and that He not only (v. 14) guides believers along the right path, but 'bears witness,' along with that element in human nature which is nearest to God and most like God, viz. 'our own spirit,' that they 'are children of God and heirs' of eternal life. He thus evokes, even in view of all the ills of life, a final song of triumph. About this last important doctrine, there was apparently in Wesley's day no controversy : and, in this sermon, he contents himself with a quotation of two great passages, viz., Rom. viii. 16, and Gal. iv. 6, and a plain inference from them.

The phrase *Sanctified by Faith* is not found in the Bible. But it is abundantly justified by the words 'living for God' and 'present yourselves to God' in Rom. vi. 11, 13, and by the word 'sanctification' in v. 19, 22, taken in connexion with the reckoning of faith in v. 11. Cp. Acts xv. 9.

Another remarkable parallel is found in the Fourth Gospel, where to *believe in* Christ is a conspicuous condition of salvation and of eternal life. So John i. 12, iii. 15-18, v. 24, vii. 38, xx. 31, 1 John v. 4. This remarkable agreement of the two great theologians of the New Testament is decisive historical proof that the above doctrines are essential elements of Christ's message to men. And they are

confirmed by various writers in Mark xvi. 16 ; Luke viii. 12, 13 ; Acts x. 43, xiii. 39, xxvi. 18 ; 1 Peter i. 5.

We have now an adequate explanation of the Methodist Revival. It was due to the rediscovery and emphatic assertion, by the Wesleys, of central elements of the teaching of Christ, which in their day had been somewhat overlooked. We may go a step further back. Not only were both brothers helped into the light by scholarly and godly Lutherans, but the crisis came to Charles Wesley by reading Luther's famous commentary on Galatians ; and to John Wesley from hearing read Luther's Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. In other words, the Methodist Revival was in some sense an offspring of the German Reformation : and these two great epochs in the history of the Kingdom of God were due to the same cause, viz., the reassertion, by Luther and by the Wesleys, of the two great doctrines of Justification and Sanctification by Faith.

These two doctrines rest upon two others, equally conspicuous and important, in the teaching of Christ as recorded and expounded in the New Testament, viz., the Divinity of Christ, and Salvation through His Death, as a gift of the Father's love. These doctrines, formulated in the almost universally accepted Nicene Creed, were remembered in all ages. But the others were less understood and more or less forgotten. These two formulated doctrines are the firm foundation on which the other two rest ; and these last are the structure built upon it, in which we find refuge and life eternal.

Another element contributory to the Revival, and of great service to British and American religious thought, is stated on p. 88 of Part III of Canon Perry's *Student's English Church History*. ' It is hardly possible to exaggerate the debt which the Church of England owes to John Wesley in respect of his teaching on absolute decrees, particular redemption, final perseverance, and the other doctrines involved in the Calvinistic controversy. Had it not been for the consistent opposition which he maintained to these

views, and the strenuous battle fought by him and his assistants against them, the cause of spiritual religion in the Church of England might have been inseparably connected with an antinomian system, which impeaches the moral attributes of the Deity as much as it excludes the proper place of righteousness in man.'

Against the above teaching, which is that of Calvin, and before him, of Augustine, a strong protest was made by Arminius, a Dutch theologian who died in 1609. After his premature death, his opinions were correctly formulated by his followers in Five Articles of *Remonstrances*, which were presented in 1610 to the States of Holland. This protest John Wesley strongly supported, and the opinions of Arminius have become, in our day, the almost unanimous opinion of nearly all Christians. Wesley's high respect for him finds expression in the title given to a monthly Methodist periodical published by him and called the *Arminian Magazine*.

In Holland, the name of Arminius was afterwards associated with the opinions of some who accepted his protest against Calvinism, but rejected utterly the positive teaching of Arminius and the Remonstrants. This positive teaching was to Wesley and his companions a gospel of salvation for all who put faith in Him who gave His life as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world (1 John ii. 2).

A third necessary element, in the complicated causes which brought about the Methodist Revival, was the untiring energy throughout a long life with which John Wesley proclaimed to multitudes of all classes, and especially of the working class, the Gospel which had given him peace and power. Another element was the skill and care with which he gathered together, and held, those who responded to the preaching of himself and his helpers. He thus provided for the lost sheep brought to the Great Shepherd a spiritual home, in which they found companionship, protection, spiritual food, and education. This gave permanence to his work.

All this involved the founding of another organized religious community outside the Anglican Church, of which Wesley was so devoted a member. He hoped, like Zinzendorf with the Moravians, to have 'a Church within the Church,' but this was impossible. To the Anglican Church the Methodists converts, so far as they knew, owed nothing; and in their own community they found all the spiritual help they needed. In England, Canada, the United States of America, and elsewhere, the Methodist Revival has been an infinite blessing. It seems to me that John Wesley has done more for the Kingdom of God in the English-speaking countries than has any other Englishman; and in this he was greatly helped by his brother's hymns, in which the saving truth of the Gospel was put into forms easily understood by all and easily remembered.

All is now explained. 'It was God's good pleasure, through the foolishness of the proclamation, to save those who believe.' For 'the word of the cross . . . is the power of God.' Wesley grasped with a strong hand the central element of the Gospel, viz. Salvation by Faith; proclaimed it to all who would hear; and brought his many converts into the fold of Christ. This by no means implies approval of all he said or wrote, or any superiority in the community he founded. All details of doctrine, method, or Church order, must be estimated on their own merits in the light which subsequent events have shed upon them.

A few more words about Wesley's consecration, which followed his reading Jeremy's Taylor's *Holy Living*. So far as I can judge, this experience dominated for good his entire life, and probably prompted his going to Georgia. But it did not give him success or peace or power. Nor did William Law's book on *Christian Perfection*, which he took with him and read to some of his fellow travellers to America. He needed better teaching. This he found in part from Peter Bohler, by further study of the Greek Testament, and by listening to some one reading Luther's Preface to

Romans. In Sermon 40, in 1740, he is earnestly seeking *perfection*. Beyond that, we cannot trace his experience until in 1765, in Sermon 43, the full light shines, and apparently had shone for many years. The Entire Sanctification so fully taught by Jeremy Taylor needs for its realization the still greater doctrine of Sanctification by Faith.

This great doctrine needs most careful research. Wesley's description of it seems to me rather defective in giving so much attention to its negative side, viz. full salvation from all sin, and saying little about its positive side of unreserved devotion to God of all we have and are ; and in the omission of the sacrificial meaning so prominent in Rom. vi. 13, 19 ; xii. 1 ; xv. 16 ; 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. Fortunately these defects are abundantly supplied in Charles Wesley's hymns ; e.g. 561-5, 583-8 in *The Methodist Hymn-Book*. The root idea of holiness, as understood by the writers of the New Testament, may be learnt from Ex. iii. 5, xii. 16, xiii. 2, 12 ; Num. iii. 12, 13 ; viii. 16, 17 ; Jer. li. 27, 28. Oversight of this sacrificial meaning of the word has impoverished much modern teaching on the New Life in Christ.

A point not discussed by Wesley demands attention. We inherit tendencies to evil, and these have been greatly strengthened by our past indulgence in sin. Their force sometimes seems irresistible. Yet, without full victory over them, we cannot give to God the devotion He claims. In what sense and measure will God, here and now, save us from them ? He will give us each moment, by the power of His Spirit working in our hearts, victory over them so complete that they will no longer enslave or defile us. For tendencies to evil do not defile unless we yield to them. Consequently, the promise to cleanse from all sin does not necessarily involve annihilation of all such tendencies. For they who have full victory over each temptation are already saved from all sin. So 1 Pet. i. 5 ' guarded (as by military force) in God's power, through faith.'

Wesley's strong preference, in Sermon 43, for a conscious

and sudden transition to full salvation seems to me unwarranted. If, resting on the promise and power of God, we are now saved from sin, it matters little whether the salvation came suddenly or gradually. As Christian teaching spreads and is learnt from childhood onwards, sudden transition will become more rare. Moreover a spiritual crisis in the past is an unsafe ground for present faith and hope. Our experience of salvation will be sudden or gradual, as the eye of faith opens suddenly or gradually.

In Sermon 43 Wesley uses the words *perfection* and *perfect love* as equivalent to the sanctification which he bids his readers to expect in a moment, by faith. This use was evidently learnt from Law's book on *Christian Perfection*, which at one time Wesley valued greatly, but afterwards, in a letter to the author, condemned as unsatisfactory. The word *perfect* is a very unsafe translation of the Greek word thus rendered. In 1 Cor. xiv. 20, Eph. iv. 13, Heb. v. 14, in the same connexion of thought, it evidently denotes a full-grown man in contrast to a child. That in Ph. iii. 12 Paul disowns it as a description of himself, proves that it does not indicate one definite stage of growth, but only Christian manhood generally. The Greek word suitably describes an idea ever to be kept in view and earnestly pursued, so Ph. iii. 12-14, Heb. vi. 1.

In Sermon 43 we have once the phrase *Entire Sanctification*, which suitably describes the consecration of all we have and are, learnt by Wesley in early life from Jeremy Taylor's book. But it does not adequately describe the second great doctrine in Sermon 43, which is there spoken of some twenty times as *Sanctified by Faith*. This last phrase suitably describes a distinctive and all-important feature of the Methodist Revival. Sanctification is also very prominent in the teaching of the Salvation Army.

In his sermons on 'The Witness of the Spirit,' Wesley has not observed that Rom. viii. 16 expounds the significance of verse 15. Paul here asserts that his readers and himself

look up to God and call Him *Father*; and that this filial *cry* was prompted by the Spirit of God, about whom he has said so much in verses 1-14. This is a matter of inward experience. Verse 16 implies that their consciousness of salvation comes, not only from their own *spirit*, i.e. from that element which they share with God who Himself is *Spirit*, but also from the Spirit of God. This cry is therefore both human and divine, and this concurrence is decisive proof that the cry is an expression of reality; that Paul's readers are in very truth *children of God*. This teaching finds clear expression in our hymn 247, from the pen of Philip Doddridge, about two years older than John Wesley.

The word here rendered, *bears witness with*, is conspicuous in Jno. v. 36: 'The works which I do, themselves bear witness about Me that the Father has sent Me.' The same use of the same word is found in chap. x. 25, Acts xv. 8, also Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics*, bk. ii. 1, 5, and elsewhere. It is the more appropriate here because the proof is given by a *cry*. Although his exposition is imperfect, Wesley has done good service, in these sermons, by calling attention to this important passage. It is a clear assertion that they who put faith in Christ may know that they have thus become 'children of God.'

In spite of Wesley's keen intelligence and correct judgement, we must all admit that in his extreme old age he fell into a serious error. In Sermon 115, on 'The Ministerial Office,' dated May 4, 1789, he claims, for the Anglican clergy, by quoting against some of his followers the example of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, a monopoly of conducting public worship, analogous to that given in Num. xvi. 10 to Aaron and his sons. For this monopoly Wesley brings no proof. The only priests mentioned in the New Testament as belonging to the New Covenant are Christ, the High-priest, and the holy and royal priesthood mentioned in 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9 as belonging to all followers of Christ, who are called upon in Rom. xii. 1 to present their bodies as a 'living

sacrifice' to God. A wise footnote by the editor calls attention to this error of Wesley.

Another sermon which no Wesleyan will now defend is No. 73, 'of Hell.' These two sermons warn us not to accept without careful discrimination all that even the greatest modern teacher has said or written. To accept him as infallible may gratify intellectual indolence; but it is always dangerous. We may be thankful that these sermons were not included in the Wesleyan standards.

It is now evident that, just as the German Reformation was due to thoughts and experiences in the heart of Luther, so the Methodist Revival, with its immense influence on the English-speaking race, was due to scholarly theological research by the brothers Wesley, evoking in them a similar experience. A combination of qualifications and circumstances contributed to this remarkable and happy result.

The Wesleys had the advantage of birth in a family which for at least three generations had been scholarly and religious. John Wesley had a bodily soundness which enabled him to live a long life of untiring activity. His devout spirit is revealed in the fact that at the age of twenty-two years he read parts of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, and at once resolved to consecrate himself, without reserve, to the service of God. This early consecration was a large factor in the long life which followed.

Very few men are at the same time leaders of thought and successful administrators. In each direction Wesley learnt much from others, and in both he showed remarkable and correct discrimination. He detected in the Gospel its central and dominating elements, and proclaimed them with a power which has raised permanently the religious thought of our race. In a great theological controversy on Calvinism he strongly supported the side which an almost unanimous subsequent judgement has pronounced to be correct. His great gift as an organizer is universally recognized.

Charles Wesley's hymns have been a popular and invaluable statement of Methodist theology. To them, John Wesley's remarkable gift for languages has added twenty translations from the German, one from the French, and one from the Spanish ; some of them of priceless value. The love of music in the Wesley family taught the early Methodists the immense spiritual value of sacred song.

John Wesley was indisputably an autocrat. But this was an unmixed gain. For it gave to the young and mixed community a strong and capable leader. His followers gladly accepted his rule as of their father in God, unselfish, gentle, wise, and absolutely devoted to their good. It was no hardship, for all recognized his fitness to rule. This held together the community while Wesley lived. It can surprise no one that the loss of such a leader was followed by controversy and division. The survival and development of the movement, wherever the English language is spoken, reveal the solidity of its foundations.

The total difference between Wesley and his followers, in their history and tastes, was also a gain. His wish that they should remain in connexion with the Anglican Church was impossible of realization. For to that Church, so far as they could see, they owed nothing ; and any union with it would have hindered the natural development of the new community. But Wesley's attitude restrained hostility to the Church he never ceased to love. The Wesleyan Church thus became, in some sense, a link between the Established and Nonconformist Churches. Viewed as a whole, the various qualifications and activities of the Wesley brothers, and the Methodist Revival in its developments and abiding results, reveal in a marked degree the guiding hand of God. Taken together, and traced to still earlier sources, they are a remarkable chapter in the history of the Kingdom of God, worthy of most careful study by all intelligent Christians.

The Methodist Churches are our heritage to-day to

defend, purify, and extend; in harmonious co-operation with all other sections of the Church of Christ. From these last we must learn all we can, and must endeavour to impart to them whatever we have ourselves learnt. This we can do, as Wesley did, only by seeking for, and re-asserting, the central doctrines of the teaching of Christ as recorded and expounded in the New Testament. This reveals the importance of systematic theology, based upon careful consecutive study of the sacred records. In other words, the Methodist Revival was, in its origin, a product of theological research, evoking a spiritual experience and untiring efforts to save others.

In this research we shall do well to imitate John Wesley in his careful study of the Greek Testament. Through this collection of the earliest Christian documents comes to us all we know of Christ's teaching about Himself and His relation to God, and about the way of salvation. He speaks to us in Greek, and those of us who are set apart for the ministry of the Church should do the best we can to understand the sacred tongue in which His words come to us. On the other hand there is no limit to the measure in which the devout student of the English Bible may lessen the distance between the sacred writers and himself.

To sum up. The Methodist Revival was due to a more extensive and correct conception of Christ's message to men, derived by the Wesleys from a young Lutheran scholar, tested and confirmed by their own careful study of the New Testament and in their own experience; proclaimed fearlessly and with untiring zeal by the Wesleys and their followers to all sorts of men and women. Only in the same way can the Revival be continued and developed.

J. AGAR BEET.

AMERICAN LETTERS AND EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION

1. *A History of American Literature.* Vols. I and II.
(Cambridge University Press. 1919.)
2. *Longfellow's Prose Works.* (Walter Scott. 1887.)

THE Cambridge University Press, during the last two years, has begun to issue its long-expected work on the rise and progress of American literature. The third volume has yet to come, but the exhaustive thoroughness of the first two suffice for an approximately complete impression of what the finished work will be. Nothing could have been more happily or significantly timed than the coincidence, so far as it has yet gone, of this publication with the Spa armistice of 1918, and the Paris treaty conference of the following year.

Both those events bore the impress of American sagacity and statesmanship as well as more or less disinterested loyalty to a cause which was not that of any one people or State, but of humanity and civilization. While these events were in progress on European soil, the best possible of American commentaries was being prepared for them in these handsome volumes, forming, as they do, not merely a record of Anglo-Saxon authorship beyond seas, but of the successive stages in the entire intellectual, moral, spiritual, not less than literary evolution of the American race. For to that, and nothing less, it will amount when the coping-stone has been placed upon an undertaking whose scale renders it colossal.

Those recently and still co-operating to raise this monument to the new world's achievement in the 'Humanities,' modestly quote the Spanish seventeenth-century adage—

'To equal a predecessor, one must have twice his worth.' Disclaiming that qualification, the authors merely mention some distinctive features of their enterprise. It begins with the infant and almost inarticulate expressions of national thought; it brings the narrative down to the most highly polished specimens of nineteenth-and twentieth-century verse or prose. It surveys the whole higher life of an entire community. Thus far it is the only work of its kind executed by scholars selected from every class and section of the American continent, Canada not excepted. To those unique characteristics one may presently return. At the outset I may just touch on the opportune emphasis with which it will remind every reader of the influence on the economy and regulation of the old world's affairs by the absolutely new force that has entered into or associated itself with them.

National and international statesmanship grows increasingly agreed that President Wilson's plan is the world's greatest human hope. The arguments in its favour, the method and accompanying circumstances of their statement, form a contrast to the conduct of international peace procedure in all other post-war negotiations recorded by history so striking as to invite a few words now.

The earliest congress of the European powers for universal reconstruction on anything like the same scale as the twentieth century has forced upon its sovereigns and statesmen were the meetings at Münster, resulting in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which in things sacred as well as secular formed a real reconstruction of human society from one end of the world to the other. The group of international documents to which that Agreement belongs includes also the Peace of Ryswick in the seventeenth century and of Utrecht in the eighteenth. The Westphalia conferences were held entirely or for the most part at Münster in Prussia, the signature took place at Hamburg. From first to last negotiations were inordinately prolonged by Franco-Spanish

jealousy and by the difficulty which the official mediator, then first heard of, found in composing the private feud between the French plenipotentiaries D'Avaux and Servien. Eventually the difficulty solved itself by the two impracticable Gaelic rivals retiring, though the Münster section of the great understanding was really the sole work of Servien for France and Trautsmandorf for the Empire. D'Avaux as well as Servien was allowed to save his face by the appearance of his signature, among the others, to the bit of paper. There was also an Austro-Swedish agreement, carried through by the famous Oxenstiern, Queen Christina's minister, whose son received, in view of these and other transactions of the same sort, the familiar advice to 'watch and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.'

More strictly relevant to my present subject than any of the diplomatic incidents between 1648 and 1697 was the intellectual and literary atmosphere surrounding them and more particularly the culture, with all its varied influences, breathed fifteen years after Ryswick by the promoters of the voluminous convention known as the Treaty of Utrecht in 1712—an understanding entirely effected by the private 'deal' between the French representative De Torcy and the English St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

Treaty-making was then, as it remained for many years afterwards, a stately ceremonial on severely classical lines. The preliminary Ryswick negotiations were marked by several neat little discourses about a resemblance, real or imaginary, of existing European conditions to the relations subsisting between the various little communities of classical Italy and Greece. Jonathan Swift found an occasion for commending himself afresh to his Tory patrons and giving proof of his international aptitude by his tractate on the contests and dissensions in Athens and Rome. This was written on the first prospect of the Utrecht conference, when the two Houses were at feud about the Tory impeachment of Somers and the other Whig leaders who had to do

with the Partition treaty. The terrible pamphleteer soon had his reward in the chaplaincy to the Duke of Ormond. He had been guided in his choice of the subject by the best friend he ever had, Lady Betty Germaine, who could think of no other theme so likely to help him towards his ambition of connecting himself with the expected scheme of European reconstruction. 'This by Swift,' said one of the dean's rivals. 'I know as a fact it was Bishop Burnet's work.' 'And I,' rejoined Lady Betty, 'know better than fact that it is the Dean's.'

What, too, could be more exclusively classical than the scene on which the curtain rises in the spring of 1712 in the Utrecht council chamber? There, conspicuous by his handsome features, his superb periwig, and his cloak, arranged to reproduce the folds of a Roman toga, is the Alcibiades of his time, the prince of patrician profligates and pseudo-philosophers, Henry St. John, leaning against a scagliola pillar, deep in a pocket volume of the Olynthiacs and Philippics. Near him is his French confederate De Torcy, languidly looking at rather than troubling to examine his map of Europe in one hand and the plays of Racine in the other. And now enters the most splendid apparition of all. It is the English Lord Privy Seal, the last prelate employed on a secular mission of any kind, the Lord Bishop of Bristol. For the best part of an hour before this he has been studying in a huge looking-glass his own reflection to see whether his pose and equipment is according to the pattern as regards outline of the elder Cato, whom his facial features are supposed to resemble. His black velvet gown is adorned with golden loops; his long train is carried by two pages in ash-coloured coats laced with silver orris, and waistcoats of green velvet (*Complete History of Europe*, 1712, p. 64). In this magnificent masquerade the histrionic Bolingbroke was perhaps after all the most genuine personage. I have forgotten whether his portrait has a place in that noble collection of statesmen adorning Christchurch Hall; of that house

tradition represents St. John as an alumnus. This is pure fiction, for his education began and ended at Eton. There, however, he acquired much more classics than most of his contemporaries in that classical age. Bolingbroke's differences with Marlborough did not prevent his honouring the great soldier's memory as the first minister and most consummate general our country or perhaps any other has produced.

Thackeray, who idealized the Queen Anne period and its characters, has something to say about the magnanimity shown to one another by those of its personages who were rivals.

Bolingbroke on Marlborough is a characteristic instance. From the panegyric on his achievements in peace and war, St. John shows him as a humane and compassionate man; his eagerness for fresh conquests without delay never caused him (after the manner it may be said, of the first Napoleon) to neglect the wounded; his prisoners were always treated with kindly courtesy, while on countless other occasions he alone among our chief captains displayed a mercy and gentleness towards the fallen, equalling, if not surpassing, the tenderness and respect which after the defeat of the Persian king was lavished by Alexander the Great on his mother, wife, and daughters.

St. John's classical interests have been already mentioned. Here it may be added that for the benefit of a reverend parasite twittering the phrases somewhat inopportunistically of Marlborough and himself, Bolingbroke recalled from the *Odyssey*, book viii, line 62, the compliment coming from Ulysses at the court of King Alcinoüs to the bard Demodocus who sang of the loves of Aphrodite and Ares. In the conversation which followed, with reference to the same subject, Bolingbroke not less glibly quoted a remarkable couplet from *The Bacchæ*.¹ Whether or not the Utrecht business

¹ 'When Bacchus goes, then Venus flies,
And out of life all pleasure dies' (773-74).

gave St. John another chance of showing that he had not forgotten his Greek must be left to conjecture. The classical curriculum of his Eton time was wider and more varied than it has been since. His *Letters on History* still exhale a perceptibly Hellenic atmosphere and abound in signs of intimacy not only with Plutarch but Dionysius of Halicarnassus. There was plenty of arguing from or about Greek or Roman precedents, with much mention of the Amphyctionic council and other peace-making agencies not only at the Utrecht talks but a hundred years later among the dazzlingly bestarred Vienna negotiators, who showed their reconstructive skill by pulling the world to pieces, like a dissecting-map, and rather clumsily putting it together again afterwards.

In view of the creative labours on a larger scale at home as well as beyond seas, now crowding our days and bewildering our statesmen, there have been brought to light no historic examples more full of instruction, interest, and even inspiration than those collected with such consummate and original judgement by the *Spectator*. The pages containing these have all the practical usefulness for our world regenerators and politicians to-day that the eighteenth-century writers of the American *Federalist* possessed not only for the parliamentary students of that period, but for those among us who were getting up political philosophy in the nineteenth century for our final schools under teachers of such light and leading as W. W. Capes, of Queens', or W. L. Newman, of Balliol. The special interest now attaching to all leaders of Transatlantic thought and the useful suggestions still to be derived from the literary labours that accompanied the making of the American constitution, invest with a seasonable value those sections of the Cambridge History that testify to the study and thought involved in the eighteenth-century conversion of a British colony into an independent and sovereign polity. The literary preparations for that enterprise cannot at this

distance of time be seen in their true perspective dimensions or significance without such knowledge of the earlier and preliminary processes as may now for the first time be fully gathered from the volumes whose titles introduce this writing. The creation of New England, it must be remembered, did not form the first chapter in the story of British Transatlantic settlement—a gradual and sporadic process extending over many decades.

The year that has just opened forms the tercentenary of the *Mayflower's* sailing from the English Plymouth to its new-world namesake. At the time of these events in 1620, the first Anglo-American Parliament had assembled in Virginia. It was the epoch of adventurous corporations; the Virginia Company came to birth in the city of London (1607), after Sir Walter Raleigh's imprisonment put an end to the schemes he had formed for peopling the New World. As colonial leader Raleigh was followed by a Lincolnshire farmer's son, John Smith, whose vicissitudes and exploits, even during his lifetime, in Thucydidean phrase, 'won their way to the fabulous.' The diversity of English classes and characters brought together in a strange land contained the germ of those differences, social, intellectual, religious, and political, which were afterwards to form lines of cleavage in American life, letters, and polity. The original Virginia settlers were mostly English gentlemen desirous of reproducing in their fresh home the free patrician life they had left behind, bent also on parcelling out the country into large estates, cultivated by slave labour imported from Africa. On that basis there soon rose up a wealthy trading class, whose capital had made them masters of the tobacco commerce. They were entirely free from any of the scruples expressed by the Pilgrim Fathers of the *Mayflower* about dealing with foreign negroes as servile and soulless chattels.

These had for their northern neighbours in the district known as New England with Massachusetts as its capital,

a community who knew refinements of life in their English homes. Accustomed from childhood to work with their hands, they were sprung from ancestors whom the smaller squires, like Pym and Hampden, the backbone of the opposition to Charles, might have enrolled among their troops, or Cromwell might have disciplined into his 'Iron-sides.' Closer contiguity might have precipitated a rupture between the two dissimilar communities. Against that danger the vast tracts of unoccupied territory separating the two was not the only guarantee. The intervening Hudson River formed a natural barrier whose strength had been increased by the rise on its shores of the populous Dutch centre, New Amsterdam, eventually to grow into New York.

The antagonisms now mentioned coloured the entire course of American thought and writing from the fifteenth or sixteenth century onward, till the complete amalgamation of the miscellaneous elements in Transatlantic civilization and culture. The patriotic note was sounded in American authorship long before any native touch appeared either in diction or subject. In 1612 Captain John Smith took up the pen to defend his adopted home from the slanders attacking it. 'The country itself is not at fault, but does not yet abound in taverns, ale-houses for every breathing place, and all the unwholesome dainties of the old home.' Almost contemporary with Smith was the only writer of the period whose prose possessed merit or vitality. Thomas Carlyle found in Robert Sedgwick, a prosperous Massachusetts settler, the only writer who told him anything worth knowing. All the productions of this time, chiefly books and pamphlets, were only quarries for authors of a later day, the materials issued or patronized by the various Transatlantic companies of literature rather than literature itself. They fulfilled, however, a useful purpose in that they supplied the English Government of the time with records as abundant as they were disjointed and confused about the course of events

and the state of feeling in New England. Thus Robert Sedgwick was commissioned by Cromwell to send him the latest news on every opportunity as to what the Dutch were doing on the Hudson, the French in Acadia, the Spanish in Jamaica. Those subjects were not of much interest to the colonists themselves, who rather sought relief from the toils and cares of their working life in meditations on the New Jerusalem which they were in process of raising in their new home. The account of *God's Protecting Providence in the Remarkable Deliverance of Robert Barrow: Great exercises in much patience during the time of greatest troubles* were the titles borne by some among the most popular of the fugitive publications whose authors believed themselves in as close communion with their Creator, as much under His protection from day to day and minute to minute, as the Hebrew priests of old, with their 'Urim' and 'Thummim,' or the hosts of Israel, as, delivered from Egyptian bondage and Red Sea perils, they began to establish themselves in Canaan. The literary growths of such a spiritual soil continued, even as the eighteenth century approached, to be wild, extravagant, and rank. Fanaticism may have been seldom followed by a reaction against faith. It was, however, for the most part overgrown by the experiences of the often illiterate emotionalism of those who saw visions, dreamed dreams, and fancied their unlikeness to any purely human experience testified to their supernatural origin.

Seasons indeed there were of temporary subsidence in this ferment of thought and expression. Ability with the pen, of an altogether uneducated kind, seems first to have shown itself in the compromise between theology or theocracy run rampant, and a real attempt at *belles lettres* in the books or booklets attributed to Byrd, Hamilton, and Keith, written and circulated in MS. towards the seventeenth century's close, but not published till between fifty and one hundred years afterwards.

All this time the hysterical enthusiasm of the New World puritans was making itself the precursor of the mystic strains first heard in Jonathan Edwards; afterwards, detached from religious affinities, transmuted into the secular supernaturalism of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Another literary school, though to some degree informed by the scriptural spirit, now began to appear. The already mentioned John Smith, of Pocahontas celebrity, practised the same style as that of the newspaper special correspondent of a later day. Such were the New England chroniclers, who wrote chiefly to tell English friends about the progress of the pilgrim settlers. Edward Winslow, William Bradford, of Plymouth, and John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, had been among the *Mayflower* passengers and had earned a reputation for practical wisdom before ever putting pen to paper. All the best knowledge of their time is condensed into what they wrote. Its chief interest, however, to-day comes from the fact that it shows these early historians to have been in all matters narrative, social, and political the disciples of Hampden and Pym. Bradford deals chiefly with New Plymouth, Winthrop with the Massachusetts Bay colonists. Both write in a tone of sensible devoutness, of sober loyalty to liberal ideas, but without any touch of revolutionist sympathies. During the years between 1670 and 1720 an intelligent and discriminating colonial public had formed itself. Even the religionist writing exhibits a dialect less strange, is more sparing of perplexingly esoteric terms than had been the case even fifty years before. The steadily decreasing disputes over Calvinistic dogma no longer entirely surrender spiritual freedom to the tyranny of scriptural phrase.

Now, too, authorship and pulpits were full of practical hints for political organization on lines parallel with those defining the limit and extent of the Anglican, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational cult. Mayhew's reflections on the resistance to Charles I in England passed to and fro

between theology and politics, much after the manner of Edmund Burke in the fragments serving as a sort of rehearsal for his famous *French Revolution*. By 1772 the best literary and intellectual culture of the new world had personified itself in another Samuel Johnson than him of Fleet Street—one whose sweet, gracious reasonableness attracted all his contemporaries, and especially won him the heart and mind of Benjamin Franklin, who had sat at his feet. With Franklin begins that kind of American writing now chiefly under consideration and that intellectual connexion of the new world with the old that has grown closer and more fruitful ever since.

In the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1806, Lord Brougham, paradoxical as ever, argues that regular education is unfavourable to originality of understanding, supporting his thesis by the instance of the 'uneducated tradesman of America.' This was the earliest master of American prose who modelled himself on Bunyan, Defoe, and the most distinguished of whose unconscious pupils, as regards style, was Abraham Lincoln, after George Washington the most beloved and inspiring of United States Presidents; of him Brougham speaks as not only without academical teaching, without the benefit of association with men of letters, and living in a society where there existed no relish and no encouragement for literature. Yet Benjamin Franklin, the earliest of shrewd, sagacious, invincibly pushful Yankees whom provincial America produced, had his place in a cosmopolitan group comprising the ablest politicians, diplomats, and statesmen then adorning Europe, such as Adam Smith, the historians Robertson, Hume, Bishops Shipley, Watson, and among the lords of human kind in thought, literature, action, and affairs, beginning with Chat-ham, Shelburne, Burke, and ending with Voltaire. The great 'globe-trotter' of his age, Franklin brought home with him in 1787 an insight into the politics in Church and State which he had seen in operation and whose growth and

tendencies he had investigated. Such qualifications secured him a place among the delegates who began their meetings in the last years of the eighteenth century to frame the constitution for the United States. Nearly the last act of his life was to draw up and sign a memorial against slavery that marked the beginning of the humane movement which inspired so much of the best national poetry after his death. The great enterprise of constructive statesmanship at whose opening he had assisted was not particularly adapted for Franklin's gifts. That work found its leading spirit in Madison ; under his guidance the assembly examined the chief ancient and modern confederacies known to history and the different conditions under which they had come into being. The national and international principles embodied in the arrangements concluded by the great European conferences, about which enough has already been said, were not neglected. The discussions indeed covered the whole area of State-making and of State reform from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, to say nothing about the freely and fully canvassed precedents of Greek or Roman antiquity. No official report was issued. The proceedings, however, were digested into the series of essays composing *The Federalist*, and in certain supplementary discourses on the importance of making the American revolution a benefit to all the world and for all time. Those aspirations are to some extent at the present time in course of fulfilment. Among the innumerable deliverances concerning Home Rule all round for the British Isles and the new States to be set up in the Balkans or in prehistoric Muscovy, the most fruitful and practically suggestive owe something to that acquaintance with *The Federalist* as a text-book for the nineteenth-century political student.

Meanwhile American education and progress in the humanities was keeping pace with its instruction in the art and science of government. The earliest New England

verse had been mere echoes from the lines introducing *The Pilgrim's Progress*, or Defoe's doggerel on the true-born Englishman. Joel Barlow's *Columbiad*, in 1787, had served its term by pleasing President Madison, and securing its author a berth in the State service abroad. Like other efforts of the Yankee muse the composition only imitated an English original. All Pope's chief poems, as of his greatest contemporaries Goldsmith and Gray, were drawn upon by American bards. These echoes of British masters gradually died out from the American ear. During a great part of the eighteenth century the tongue and pen of Jonathan Edwards were stimulating the spiritual sensibilities of his countrymen to new life. His treatise on Original Sin (1758), like his *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, created in the large centres of the nation much the same effect as Edward Irving's discourses in London. The deepest feelings and faculties of the human mind were now actively and often agonizingly at work. These in a little while began to find relief in secular occupations of a correspondingly and intensely absorbing character. Inspired by that universal need, the patriarch of United States song, W. C. Bryant, in 1817, strung his lyre. Before this Walter Scott had clothed with a new romantic interest the latest years and the most picturesque scenes of Scotch Jacobitism; the Irish novelist, Charles Lever, was doing much the same thing for the army; the fascinations of Captain Marryat's stories were sending British boys by hundreds to sea. On the other side of the Atlantic Fenimore Cooper was shedding the glamour of fiction over the coloured aborigines of his continent. Bryant sounded a strain equally fresh in his poetic pictures of the Red Indian from the nobler side, and of those illimitable prospects of American scenery, long partially or entirely ignored.

The most variously representative among the poets who have a place in the *Cambridge History* owe little or nothing even to so powerful a predecessor as the author of

'Thanatopsis.' In the public affairs of to-day the early political philosophers of the new world still exercise an influence more penetrative and more widely felt than any among the founders of political philosophy in the most cultivated and learned of classical communities. The same sort of distinction belongs to the illustrious versifier, whose compositions have long been household words to the entire Anglo-Saxon public.

It has been the function of all Anglo-Saxon letters to present a fusion of the best work produced by the writers of continental Europe. England naturally led the way in assimilating Italian, French, Spanish, and German influences. America soon followed, though not before having achieved an amalgamation of a different kind. Other countries absorbed books into their intellectual being. The United States reduced to a national unity newcomers of the human race from every country under heaven. Longfellow alone thoroughly realized the effects of that gigantic process upon the reading public. Hence the cosmopolitan course of self-training through which he went before beginning his life's work. He thus, as it were, simplified, reduced to order and healed the confusion of tongues that Babel had brought. Thus educated he found a medium of metrical expression that would appeal to the individual members from every quarter of the world of the immense mass he addressed. At the same time he touched a chord common to human nature itself; as a result he combined into an appreciative unity the whole miscellaneous multitude. In this way he appealed to mankind just as, on a different plane and in another way, the men who thought out the American constitution addressed themselves to the wants not only of their own race or at one epoch, but to all mankind and for all time. The American muse has reared other votaries who have attempted, and in some measure accomplished, the same thing. None of them has done so with Longfellow's success, because they have not attained his easy mastery of subjects and interests,

from the highest things of the spirit to the simplest objects of homeside affection and of village life. None of those links uniting the two great communities of the Anglo-Saxon race to-day was unforeseen by this poet. Not only his letters but some of his more serious verses and especially his prose *Hyperion* seemed to anticipate even the Anglo-American exchange of pulpits now so much in evidence on both sides of the Atlantic. This movement had been prepared for by the spiritual reciprocities that distinguished Anglo-American relations on the eve of the Victorian age. The first religious overture came from beyond the Atlantic in the shape of a little volume, *The Young Christian*, presented by Jacob Abbott during the November of 1833 to no less a person than Thomas Arnold of Rugby. The sender of the gift was, like its recipient, a schoolmaster. Writing from Rugby, Arnold dwells, to his correspondent, on the need of enlarging on every occasion friendly communications between the two countries.

'Nothing,' he said, 'can be more important to the future welfare of mankind than that God's people, serving Him in power, in love, and in a sound mind, should deeply influence the national character of the United States, which in many parts of the Union is undoubtedly exposed to influences of a very different description, as the result of events beyond the control of human power and wisdom.' The allusion here is to the growing prevalence of Unitarianism in Boston, where Abbott taught and preached. The chief danger of this struck Arnold as being an aftergrowth of enfeebling, perplexing, more or less superstitious sentimentalism in matters of faith. The evil might, he thought, be largely averted if Trinitarians would adopt a wiser and more charitable treatment of those from whom they differed so fundamentally. 'Let us,' he writes, 'but consider what is the main thing in the gospel, and that even truth is not always to be insisted upon, if through compelling its reception by those not yet prepared for it they are tempted to renounce

what is not only true but essential—a character assuredly not belonging to all true propositions, whether about things human or things divine.’

Some half century after the public school reformer expressed these feelings his eldest son, in his own way and in a very different context, re-echoed them to his audiences in those United States who had observed and admired him long before appreciation came from his own countrymen at home.

While these lines are being written all the religious communities on both sides of the ocean are engaged in, or are preparing special services suitable to the trying season of reconstruction that has followed the great war. In matters divine, therefore, the unity between the two great divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race is practically complete. Its manifestations, however, are sometimes open to the criticisms hinted in advance by the Arnolds. At New Haven, Connecticut, there has just died a writer of verse who counted more readers equally in the old world and the new than were ever possessed by the less unclassical and more famous singers of her time. Ella Wheeler Wilcox caught some of her inspiration from the *afflatus* of Whittier and Longfellow. The more devotional admirers who enjoyed her personal confidence claimed that her thoughts and words were frequently a direct emanation from a supernatural source. Be that as it may, the sales of her works exceeded those of Byron, Shelley, Browning, and Tennyson put together. During the single year of 1914 her publishers disposed of 44,891 copies. She was the bard not indeed of Christianity but of Theosophism, which had its place among the dangers of the spiritual afterbirth that Thomas Arnold had foreseen; and by many of those divines of her native land who had abundant means of judging what hitherto had been a real power for good with the multitudinous readers who went to her not so much for mere recreation as for solace and counsel, it was felt that she was approaching appreciably nearer to the Christian revelation. There

was never a time, as she herself said, when experience so clearly demonstrated the need of these qualities showing themselves more conspicuously and impressively in the discourses of chapel or church. As a fact the homiletical standard on both sides of the Atlantic has risen with the spiritual influence and devotional appeals of the war and the exercising period that has followed it. Hence, as was recently said by Mr. J. Rouse, the retiring head-master of the New Park Road council school, a better feeling among young and old towards each other, the disappearance of the old quarrelsome temper, and as regards the rising generation, a steady increase of moral and social improvement, largely attributable to sports, football, and swimming in the public baths. In some fastidious and not particularly intelligent quarters it has been feared that the English tongue may suffer from the growing intimacy of English preachers with their visitors from the far West. The same apprehension found utterance during the seventies and eighties, when the fame of Pastor Talmage first spread to this country, without any ill effects of dialect, taste, or doctrine showing themselves among his clerical hearers or colleagues. The Americanisms acclimatized to-day in public discourse or social converse have much that is emphatic and expressive. If slang has made its way into the pulpit, it has grown out of the colloquialisms, to be noticed far less in evangelical discourses, new world or old world, than in the High Broad Church sermons of orthodox orators trained in the school of Pusey and Jowett. Thus before he reached the episcopate the most attractive Anglican pulpiter of his time, Canon Gore, in his clear baritone voice, though often defective articulation, talked of 'being out of it' or of 'coming down on' such and such a person. In this perhaps one should have seen not only the recrudescence of Oxford slang as the effect of C. H. Spurgeon's vernacular upon the sacramental students, not of his doctrines but of the homeliness of his vocabulary. T. H. S. ESCOTT.

FIFTY YEARS IN THE NAVY

Fifty Years in the Royal Navy. By ADMIRAL SIR PERCY SCOTT, Bt., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., Hon. LL.D. Camb. (London: John Murray. 1919.)

LORD FISHER says in his *Memories* that the very first thing he did when he returned to the Admiralty as First Sea Lord in the opening months of the Great War was instantly to get back Sir Percy Scott into the fighting area. 'I had but one answer to all his detractors, and to the opposition to his return: "*He hits the target!*"' He also was maliciously maligned. I don't mean to say that Sir Percy Scott indulges in soft soap towards his superiors. I don't think he ever poured hot water down anybody's back. Let us thank God he didn't!

The aptness and truth of that verdict will impress every one who reads Sir Percy's pungent story of his half-century in the Navy. For a large part of that time he was a goad in the side of the Admiralty. As a junior lieutenant he saw that hitting the target was the chief end for which a battleship existed. And his outstanding gifts of invention and organism were concentrated on the reform of gunnery with a pertinacity and a directness which sorely galled dilatory officials who were living in a world of illusions. His book is not intended as an attack on individuals but as an exposure of the weaknesses and defects of our administrative machinery. 'Obstinate opposition to change and reform is in my opinion, a crime. In these days of rapid advance of science and swift development of mechanics, unless we move ahead we are bound to become retrograde. In order to hold our place in the world, in naval as well as in other affairs, we must encourage initiative, and, above all, so far as the sea service is concerned, inculcate in our officers ideas consistent with a modern steam navy, instead

of clinging to traditions and routines which were good in their day, but are now obsolete.' Sir Percy thinks the civilian element at the Admiralty, being permanent, obtains too much influence, whilst the naval element, which is always changing, has too little. In one case a letter took upwards of a year to circulate through the various departments. Sir Percy contrasts such cumbrous methods with those which a business house would use. War suspended to some extent these slow methods. Lord Fisher greatly speeded matters, but he was only at the Admiralty for the first seven months of the war. When Sir John Jellicoe became First Lord he put his foot down, and the task of completing the reorganization of the Fleet for war made considerable headway. He found that 'the administration had been slowed down at a period when the submarine campaign threatened every British interest. With a strong hand he wrenched the Admiralty from its conservative ways, and, as Admiral Sims has told us, the orders which he gave for auxiliary craft and tens of thousands of mines, and the encouragement which he lent to scientists, enabled us to master the greatest menace which had ever threatened not merely the British Fleet but the British Empire.'

Sir Percy Scott's great-grandfather was a captain in the Navy; his grandfather was a doctor who attempted some innovations in surgery which the profession did not welcome; his father was a solicitor, a good linguist, and an excellent speaker. He impressed on his son that he must face whatever happened with imperturbable quiet. In a household a fussy person could only disturb a few inmates; in a ship he might disturb what was equivalent to a whole village. Percy was taught only Latin and Greek, which his father declared were the foundation of everything. When he was eleven and a half the boy got a nomination for the Navy and was sent to Eastman's Naval Academy at Portsmouth. There the head master told him they wanted living languages in the Navy, and pronounced him dreadfully

backward in all useful subjects. 'He added that I should have to work half my playtime, and even then he doubted if I should be able to pass the necessary examination.' That was discouraging, but he helped his pupil well, and a month before the examination assured him that he was bound to pass. There were a hundred candidates in July, 1866; sixty-four passed. Scott was forty-sixth on the list, and next above him was the present Field-Marshal Viscount French.

The cadets had a month's leave before joining the *Britannia*, and Mr. Scott took his son to Wiesbaden that he might see something of the war between Prussia and Austria. The Prussians entered the city on the day the Scotts arrived. Next morning all the sentry boxes and flagstaves were painted black and white instead of red and white, and the Black Eagle was flying everywhere. In another town near which a battle had been fought they saw the large square full of wounded men and prisoners. The boy of thirteen thus got his first experience of war.

On August 26 he joined the *Britannia* at Dartmouth. She was an old three-decker, with a large mess-room for the cadets, who slept in hammocks. Every morning in winter and summer the decks were well saturated with salt water. That was thought to harden the cadets, at any rate it weeded out those who were not strong. The birch was used freely. Sir Percy says 'it was administered publicly with great ceremony, and was the only punishment that incorrigible boys did not like. No idea of disgrace was attached to it, but it hurt. How stupid it is to talk of doing away with the birch in our public schools! In a large community of boys there will always be a small percentage of very black sheep who have no good side to their nature to appeal to, and who, unless well birched, will encourage other boys to follow their bad example.'

From the *Britannia* young Scott passed to the *Bristol*, a 50-gun frigate, employed as a sea-going training ship.

On August 25, 1868, he joined the *Forte*, a 50-gun frigate of 2,364 tons. Her engines were of such small horse-power that they were only serviceable in a flat calm on the way from Sheerness to Portsmouth, and Sir Percy says the youngsters were fortunate in being introduced under sail to a gale of wind. 'Four hours on deck, close-reefing the topsails and clearing away broken spars, probably cured every one of sea-sickness for the remainder of their lives—at any rate, it cured me. An excitement of this sort is, I believe, the only cure for sea sickness!' At Spithead the delighted midshipmen were turned out in the middle of the night for a collision. A barque got across their bows at the change of the tide and there was much crunching, though little damage was done. From Portsmouth they sailed for Bombay, which they reached in three months. Shortage of water for washing was the chief discomfort, as the commander was unwilling to use coal for condensing the sea-water. The men sang in the evening, forming a fine chorus of about 800 men and boys. The rations consisted of salt beef and pork, pea soup, tea, cocoa, and biscuits generally full of weevils, but the crew were in perfect health and strength. The commander was a bully. Sir Percy says, 'I contradicted him once, and as I happened to be right he never forgave me. I saw more of the masthead than I did of the gun-room mess. Sending a boy to sit up at the masthead was rather a funny kind of punishment. In fine weather with a book it was rather pleasant; in bad weather you took up a mackintosh.' The commander revelled in the flogging of his crew, and thereby came his downfall. One offender, who received four dozen lashes for refusing to obey an order, complained to the Commadore that the regulation which required that an interval of twenty-four hours should pass between offence and punishment had not been observed. The commander was tried by court-martial and dismissed the ship.

A good deal of time was spent on the East Coast of Africa

looking for slave dhows. One small craft was caught with eighty slaves, so closely packed together that most of them had not been able to move during the eighteen days' voyage. The women and children had been stolen from a village north of Zanzibar whilst the men were absent fighting another tribe. The Arabs would have sold them at the Persian Gulf at about £20 a head. They were landed at Aden and the dhow was used as a target. The frigate opened fire on her with all her guns, but expended a quarter's allowance of ammunition without result and finally sank her by ramming. 'This,' says Sir Percy, 'was my first lesson in gunnery.'

The new commander encouraged sport, made the midshipmen dress properly, and set them a fine example by his own splendid get-up. 'The ship he absolutely transformed. All the blacking was scraped off the masts and spars, and canary yellow substituted. The quarter-deck was adorned with carving and gilt, the coverings of the hatchways were all faced with satin-wood, the gun-carriages were French-polished, and the shot were painted blue with a gold band round them and white top. Of course, we could not have got these shot into the guns had we wanted to fight, but that was nothing. Some years after the Admiralty issued an order forbidding the painting of shot and shell.'

After three and a half years' service, the ship was paid off on February 17, 1872. Mr. Scott enjoyed his six weeks' leave and then joined the *Hercules*, which was the most modern armoured ship, as signal midshipman. In December he was gazetted sub-lieutenant, and after completing his examinations volunteered for service in the Ashantee War. In 1874 an expedition was made up the Congo to punish some pirates who had looted a trading schooner and killed her crew. Mr. Scott had charge of the largest steamboat in the flotilla. The officer in charge of the marines, Lieutenant Crosbie, he describes as the most

able officer he has ever met in the Navy. Scott won his promotion as lieutenant by his work in this expedition.

On his return to England he went for a short time to H.M.S. *Windsor* guardship at Cowes. He had to take a dispatch to her Majesty at Osborne. The Queen questioned him about the ship, and asked how an officer called Hyde was getting on. During the Crimean War the Naval Brigade had found some men, women, and children who had been massacred. Two boys, dreadfully wounded, were still alive. The Queen had them housed at Osborne, and they were called Hyde, after the captain of the vessel in which they sailed. Her Majesty had them educated at the Royal Naval School, New Cross, and they became clerks in the Navy and assistant paymasters.

In 1878 Lieutenant Scott joined H.M.S. *Excellent* to qualify for the responsible position of gunnery lieutenant. The theoretical part of the training included mathematics, chemistry, and physics; the practical part consisted of learning how to load and fire the guns, and train the men, and know all about ammunition and projectiles. Target practice was carried out from old gunboats, which rolled a good deal. The man who pointed and fired the gun had to pull the string when two pieces of metal on the gun were in a line with the target. 'The eye had to see three objects, one at six feet, one at ten feet, and the other at 3,000 feet, all sharply defined. This called upon the eye to do more than any camera will do unless very much stopped down. The eye is a very fine optical instrument, and has in certain circumstances sufficient range of focus to comply with the requirements I have mentioned; but it will only comply with these requirements under certain conditions of the stomach and general state of health.' The firer had to pull the string as the gun was rolling upwards, and as the roll varied he had to judge how much to allow. The forward motion of the ship had also to be allowed for. Sir Percy says it appeared impossible to meet all these conditions,

yet he has seen men place shot after shot within a foot of a small flagstaff 1,000 yards away. 'Truly the brain and eye can work together in a wonderful manner.' One or two per cent. of the many seamen trained in shooting could reach this height of skill. It was found that some men for the same amount of roll fired earlier than others, yet obtained the same results. A machine was devised which Lord Fisher called the foolometer when he showed it to Queen Alexandra. It measured the time which elapsed between the man's thinking he had pulled the string and his actually doing it. Lieut. Scott went through the course, served for a year as instructing lieutenant, and was then appointed gunnery lieutenant of H.M.S. *Inconstant*, flagship of a squadron which included the *Bacchante*, on which Prince Albert Victor and the present King were midshipmen.

On October 16, 1880, the squadron left Portsmouth for a cruise round the world. They were called back from the Falkland Islands as war had broken out with the Boers, but peace was soon concluded, and the squadron moved on to Australia. Lieut. Scott devised an electrical indicator by which the distance of the target was passed from the officer at the masthead to the guns. He submitted this to the Admiralty, and fifteen months later was informed that their lordships highly appreciated his intelligence and zeal. On his return to England he found that his invention had been pirated and patented by some one else. It was not till twenty-five years later that this instrument for securing accurate firing was supplied to the service. When the *Inconstant* was lying in Simon's Bay a fire broke out. A man wearing the German smoke cap supplied for such emergencies tried to go below to get at the fire, but he was nearly asphyxiated. Lieut. Scott put on a diver's dress and helmet, and went down the ladders with a hose. He found that the fire was in a storeroom where there were large kegs of butter, lard, and candles. The butter was floating alight on the water, and the flames were soon extinguished.

That experience led Lieut. Scott to devise a light helmet and short coat to be worn in such an emergency. It was favourably reported on to the Admiralty, but it was not brought into use till thirty years later, though adopted by the New York Fire Brigade.

On her way home in 1882 the *Inconstant* was ordered to Alexandria, where war had broken out with Arabi Pasha. The bombardment had taken place a week before the *Inconstant* arrived. Lieut. Scott was sent to collect the unexploded shells that had fallen into the town. Some weighed 2,000 lbs., and great care was needed to get them out of the houses. Mattresses and featherbeds were used as the fuses were still in position, and an extra fall might send them off. They were taken in well-lined carts to a waste piece of ground, and there buried. An enormous percentage of our shell failed to explode, because they were fired with reduced charges. The unexploded shells round the forts had next to be dealt with. The Fleet had fired 3,000 rounds, and only put ten of the forty-two guns of the forts out of action. This deplorable shooting did not awaken the Admiralty to the need of improvement in our methods. 'They were quite satisfied, inasmuch as it was better than the Egyptian gunners' shooting. It certainly was, for the ships of the Fleet, though at anchor for most of the time, were not damaged to any extent.'

One of Arabi's guns, which far outranged ours, made things very unpleasant at Ramleh. Sir Archibald Allison asked Lieut. Scott if he could get a gun out of one of the forts to match Arabi's. He got three 7-in. 7-ton guns moved and mounted at Ramleh with extraordinary dispatch.

The next three years were spent in the gunnery schools. In 1885, when Prince George came to qualify in gunnery. Lieut. Scott was appointed his governor. The prince passed most satisfactory examinations. In 1886 Lieut. Scott was promoted commander, and joined H.M.S. *Duke of Edinburgh*, the most modern turret ship of the time. He

trained officers and men in hitting the target, using miniature rifles in the bores of the big guns and other appliances now in use. But he was twenty years before his time, and in the end instruction in gunnery was given up. Money was spent on enamel paint, every bit of steel was burnished, till they won the reputation of being a very smart ship. 'The nuts of all the bolts on the aft deck were gilded, the magazine kegs were electro-plated, and statues of Mercury surmounted the revolver racks.' In those days a commander used to spend half his pay or more in buying paint to adorn his ship. That was the only road to promotion. The guns were not fired if it could be avoided, as powder spoilt the paint. One commander spent £100 on repainting his ship after target practice. Sir Percy pays high tribute to the Duke of Edinburgh as Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean. He took great interest in gunnery, handled a Fleet magnificently, and introduced many improvements in signals and manœuvring. Commander Scott made a lamp with a screen which could be run up to the top of a mast for flashing signals. It had been necessary to employ half a dozen signallers to send an order from the Admiral in different directions; even then the signal got mixed up with the other lights. The Duke used the new lamp in his flagship and the Admiralty adopted it but spoiled it by their alterations. Sir Percy says, 'Finally, after years of trial and waste of money, they were compelled to adopt my original suggestion, and a lamp of this description is still used by the British and other navies of the world.'

Commander Scott returned to the *Excellent* at Portsmouth in the spring of 1890 to take charge of the transformation of the quagmire known as Whale Island into the gunnery school of the Navy. He had long urged that this was necessary. The work was wonderfully done by convicts, who took a great interest in all that they did. For the Naval Exhibition in London, Commander Scott brought up 150 men who gave a field-gun display. He also had a

lake prepared for a mimic naval battle, which proved the special attraction of the Exhibition.

He became captain in 1893, and in 1896 was appointed to H.M.S. *Scylla*, a cruiser of 3,400 tons, attached to the Mediterranean fleet. No advance had been made in gunnery or signalling since he left the Mediterranean six years before. Everything was just as it had been save 'in the house-maiding of the ships. The state of the paintwork was the one and only idea. To be the cleanest ship in the Fleet was still the objective for every one ; nothing else mattered.'

The quarter's allowances of ammunition had to be got through, but how that was done did not matter. Captain Scott was soon busy improving the apparatus for signalling, and was able at last to deal with the gunnery of his ship. He got an accurately shooting rifle rigidly fixed in the bore of the gun, and capable of being fired by the ordinary gun mechanism. This was reported to the Admiralty, but they declined to adopt it though it would have saved £40,000 a year in ammunition. Another man was added to the gun's crew to raise or lower the sight according to the orders of the pointer. Captain Scott was taken to task by the Admiralty for this innovation. Four years later, however, a sight-setter was allowed to every gun in the Navy. Captain Scott also devised a towing target, and a target which allowed the gunner to see when a hit was scored. The accuracy of the gunnery went up by leaps and bounds. By an ingenious contrivance called the dotter, Captain Scott made it possible to shoot well even when there was a considerable rolling of the ship. His reward came in May, 1899, when the *Scylla* fired seventy rounds and made fifty-six hits, exactly eighty per cent. She thus got to the top of the Navy in heavy-gun shooting, and made a record never before approached.

In September, 1899, Captain Scott was appointed to the *Terrible*, which was going to China. He found that the gunners' sights were wrongly constructed and unserviceable.

The low-power telescopes he replaced by others of high power and made many other improvements. The Boers crossed our frontier two days before the *Terrible* reached the Cape. Our Army had no long-range guns to cope with the superior artillery of the Boers. Sir George White sent an urgent telegram asking if the Navy could provide some long-range 4·7 inch guns, but the Admiral's experts reported it was impossible to get mountings for them. Captain Scott at once offered to get them made, and by four o'clock the following afternoon they were ready. An hour later the *Powerful* started at full speed to Durban, whence the guns were sent by rail to Ladysmith. Captain Scott wished to send 5,000 rounds of ammunition, but the Admiral only allowed 500 rounds to be taken. Captain Scott was appointed military commandant of Durban, and put the town in a state of defence. All approaches were guarded by batteries, and an armoured train was in readiness. Nine years later General Botha told Sir Percy Scott that but for these guns he would have flown the Vierkleur over the town-hall at Durban.

Captain Scott supplied General Buller with two 4·7 inch guns and sixteen long-range 12-pounders, which succeeded in silencing every enemy gun that they could locate at the Battle of Colenso. Martial law was established at Durban; Boer agents and spies were dealt with; two hospital ships were provided, and everything was done to assist in the war. Mr. Winston Churchill arrived as correspondent of the *Morning Post*, and was soon afterwards taken prisoner by the Boers. A month later he escaped, and half an hour after reaching Durban was off to the front.

In March, 1900, Captain Scott left Durban on his way to China, where he was able to render most important service by supplying four 12-pounders for the defence of Tientsin, and the relief force which was sent to Peking. When these operations were over, attention was given to the gunnery

of the *Terrible*, and a percentage of 76·8 hits was secured in the first prize firing.

At Hong Kong Captain Scott met a kindred spirit in Lieut. Sims, of the United States Navy, who was trying to impress upon the authorities the necessity of a reform in heavy-gun shooting. He met with strenuous opposition, but found a friend in President Roosevelt, and was at last made director of target practice. When captain he said at a public dinner at the Mansion House that if England was ever menaced by a foreign power, 'You may count upon every ship, every man, every dollar, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea.' For that utterance he was duly admonished, but when America intervened in the Great War he was made commander of the American naval forces in European waters. In the firing of 1901 Captain Scott's men scored 80 per cent. of hits. Petty Officer Grounds fired eight times in a minute, and made eight hits. That feat was then unprecedented and practically revolutionized naval gunnery. Grounds died of cholera, to his Captain's deep regret, who regarded him as worth more than his weight in gold. Other ships adopted Captain Scott's methods, with such results that seven years later the average hits of the Fleet were 79 per cent.

The *Terrible* had a great reception at Portsmouth in September, 1902, and on October 1, at Balmoral, King Edward invested her captain with the insignia of Commander of the Bath and of the Victorian Order. The King took him to a deer drive at Invercauld, and as Sir Percy did not get a stag he sent him out next day, when he got three heads. The following morning he had a long talk with his Majesty about the deplorable condition of gunnery in the Fleet and the need of better gun-sights.

Next April he was appointed Captain of the School of Gunnery, and was soon able to modernize the instruction given to officers and men. At his request the *Drake* was allowed to help him in forming his complete scheme of

battle practice. Sir Percy asked for the vessel because her Captain Jellicoe was conspicuous for his knowledge of gunnery. Sir Percy had a hard task. The Admiralty was apathetic; all the gun-sights were inefficient; there were no proper targets; no authorized scheme was arranged for battle. Sir Percy wrote a strong remonstrance to the Admiralty in 1904, when they had a conference and discovered that the guns of the whole Fleet would have to be resighted. Sir Percy's two years as captain of the *Excellent* were a continual war with the Admiralty. In 1905 he was appointed Inspector of Target Practice, and attended all the firings carried out by the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean Fleets. The hits were 56 per cent. and the *Scylla*, once top ship of the Navy, had no hits at all. Great improvements were carried out, and the percentage of hits rose from 51 to 71 per cent. Sir Percy heard much of the efficiency of the German Navy, and visited Kiel. He was shown round, but was not allowed to see the range-finder. Prince Henry told him that the short-service system was his difficulty. Three years allowed no time to teach the higher grades of gunnery. The officers treated the men badly. Their only form of recreation was beer and dissipation. Sir Percy says 'this, no doubt, accounts for their cowardly and brutal conduct during the war, and also for the fact that their fleet, without firing a shot, was driven into British harbours as meekly as a flock of sheep.'

In 1907 Sir Percy was appointed to command the Second Cruiser Squadron attached to the Channel Fleet, under Admiral Lord Charles Beresford. They did not get on well together, and the following year Sir Percy was put in command of a squadron of cruisers representing the mother country at the time of the convention held to discuss the closer union of the South African States. That imperial mission was a fitting sequel to Sir Percy's splendid service in the Boer War. Officers and men were fêted everywhere, and when they left South Africa they

had a wonderful reception in Brazil and other places.

When he returned to England he found that Lord Fisher approved of the modifications he had made by which more time was given to training in war duties and less spent in housemaiding the ships. The First Sea Lord added that he was far too much ahead of his time, and had caused a good deal of annoyance by his departure from tradition. Sir John Jellicoe was now Controller of the Navy, and decided to fit H.M.S. *Neptune* with Sir Percy's director firing apparatus. When Mr. Winston Churchill became First Lord he determined to give the system a fair trial. In November, 1912, the *Thunderer*, fitted with Sir Percy's director apparatus, was matched with the *Orion*, then esteemed the best shooting ship in the Navy.

The range was nine thousand yards. The ships steamed at twelve knots, the targets were towed at the same rate. The *Thunderer* made beautiful shots, the *Orion* sent her shots all over the place. When the targets were examined after three minutes' firing, it was found that the *Thunderer* had scored three times as many hits as the *Orion*.

The Agadir scare in 1911 made Sir Percy acutely anxious, and he wrote to the Admiralty pointing out that the German Fleet had for some years used a very good modification of the director system. That, he asserted, would enable them to beat a British Fleet of similar vessels in moderate weather, and to annihilate it in rough weather. The Admiralty did nothing.

In 1912, however, Sir John Jellicoe made such a report to the Admiralty of the *Thunderer's* success that orders were given to provide all the later ships with the director apparatus, by which one officer or man could lay and fire all the guns. When the war broke out only eight battleships had been thus fitted, but early in 1915 arrangements were made, with the assistance of Sir Percy Scott, by which the battleships and battle cruisers were supplied with the system without being put out of action.

Early in 1913 Sir Percy was made Admiral and retired. He was employed by the Admiralty on director firing, and was thinking much about the most successful means of grappling with submarines. He pointed out to the Admiralty that the Germans were building many large submarines, but could not get them to regard the submarine as anything more than a toy. Failing to move the authorities he wrote to the press, with the result that their Lordships took away the pay he had received for helping them with director firing. When war broke out he offered to serve in any capacity that the Admiralty might desire. The letter was not acknowledged, but in November he was asked to assist in various ways. At his suggestion rams were fixed on our torpedo boats, destroyers, and trawlers. He designed a bomb which could be thrown down on a submarine near the surface. That was rapidly introduced. The proposal for a depth charge to be dropped from an aeroplane or surface craft was also suggested, but was not adopted for a couple of years. That delay probably involved a loss of £200,000,000.

When the Battle of Jutland was fought on May 31, 1916, only six ships of our Fleet were completely fitted with director firing; we had no Zeppelins, and our guns were outranged by those of the Germans. Sir John Jellicoe had to use projectiles inferior to theirs, and in firing at night was utterly unclassified. For that reason Sir John Jellicoe did not seek a night action. Sir Percy's elder son, a midshipman of sixteen, said to him a week before the engagement: 'Father, if we have a scrap, our gunnery lieutenant says we shall not have a dog's chance, as our extemporized director which we have rigged up is not reliable, and the Germans can outrange our guns. We have only got 15° of elevation, the Germans have got 30°. They will be pumping shell into us, and our guns won't reach them by a couple of miles.' A week later his ship was sent to the bottom and he went with it. Sir Percy says his son was quite right.

In January, 1915, Sir Percy was offered the naval command at the Dardanelles, but declined it because he felt that the task was impossible for the inefficient ships then in the Mediterranean. On September 8, 1915, a Zeppelin dropped bombs on London. Three days later Mr. Balfour asked Sir Percy to take over the gunnery defence of London. After thirteen months of war we had eight 3-inch high-angle guns; four 6-pounders with bad gun-sights, 6 pom-poms, and some Maxims which would not fire as high as a Zeppelin and were only a danger to the people below. Paris had 215 guns to protect forty-nine square miles, London had eight to defend seven hundred square miles. We had no trained airmen, no lighted-up aerodromes. Sir Percy got a gun as a model from Paris, and soon had more than 150 guns ready for action. It was a wonder, as General Galliene said, that in our defenceless days Zeppelins did not come over every day.

As to the future of the Navy, Sir Percy says he regarded the surface battleship as dead before the war, and thinks her more dead now, if possible. A battleship costs about eight millions, and for that sum we could provide many aeroplane-carrying ships with aeroplanes, ten of which could carry over 100,000 lb. of high explosives; the amount carried by a 30,000-ton battleship. The battleship is useless in peace, but the aeroplanes and the ships that carry them could be employed for carrying passengers. The future is with the aeroplane. In a few years we shall probably have submersible battleships of 10,000 tons. 'What chance will the surface battleship, presenting a huge target, have against such a vessel?' The country owes a great debt to the man who has faced complicated naval problems so resolutely, and found solutions for so many of them. He has felt too deeply to be silent, and if others had had more of his spirit we should have come more triumphantly than we did out of the ten thousand perils of the Great War.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

HUMANIZING INDUSTRY ¹

THE aim of the Welfare Movement may be summed up in a single phrase—to humanize industry. Modern industrial conditions have abolished the old personal contact between employer and worker with its opportunities of cultivating sympathy and understanding. Welfare work seeks to bridge the gap, to soften asperities, and to reintroduce the human element in the relations of the commissioned ranks of industry with the rank and file.

Another important aspect of Welfare work must not be overlooked. The present world-situation demands a maximum output from workers of all grades. Wise employers are recognizing that to secure and maintain this maximum the health and well-being of those in their employ must be carefully safeguarded.

Welfare work is no modern innovation in this country. As Miss Proud shows in her authoritative monograph on the movement, efforts to improve the conditions of factory life were by no means unknown as early as 1850. The model town of Saltaire, erected by the philanthropic Sir Titus Salt about that date, was the prototype of the modern industrial garden cities at Port Sunlight and Bournville. But the example of the firms of Lever, Cadbury, and Rowntree has quickened the public conscience; and the wholesale recruiting of the feminine and boy population for war industries enforced upon employers a sense of responsibility for the well-being of their workers to a greater extent than before. This is one of the few 'refreshing fruits' of the war, and in the interests alike of the individual worker, the employer, and the community, every possible effort should be made to conserve it in the days of peace. Speaking generally, Welfare work comprises a canteen or dining-room, clubs for sports, an ambulance, medical and dental inspection, and some form of thrift encouragement. But it is also extended to include educational facilities, social diversions, cadet corps, gymnasium, annual camps, outings, and a number of other activities. The prime necessity for successful work on these lines is a capable Welfare Supervisor, who initiates and co-ordinates all the activities, and who acts as a court of appeal in cases of dispute and misunderstanding and as a sympathetic adviser to the workers.

A recent tour of investigation of such work in the metropolitan area and a series of interviews with Welfare Supervisors has enabled the writer to estimate the growing value of this movement.

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lake prepared for a mimic naval battle, which proved the special attraction of the Exhibition.

He became captain in 1893, and in 1896 was appointed to H.M.S. *Scylla*, a cruiser of 3,400 tons, attached to the Mediterranean fleet. No advance had been made in gunnery or signalling since he left the Mediterranean six years before. Everything was just as it had been save 'in the house-maiding of the ships. The state of the paintwork was the one and only idea. To be the cleanest ship in the Fleet was still the objective for every one; nothing else mattered.'

The quarter's allowances of ammunition had to be got through, but how that was done did not matter. Captain Scott was soon busy improving the apparatus for signalling, and was able at last to deal with the gunnery of his ship. He got an accurately shooting rifle rigidly fixed in the bore of the gun, and capable of being fired by the ordinary gun mechanism. This was reported to the Admiralty, but they declined to adopt it though it would have saved £40,000 a year in ammunition. Another man was added to the gun's crew to raise or lower the sight according to the orders of the pointer. Captain Scott was taken to task by the Admiralty for this innovation. Four years later, however, a sight-setter was allowed to every gun in the Navy. Captain Scott also devised a towing target, and a target which allowed the gunner to see when a hit was scored. The accuracy of the gunnery went up by leaps and bounds. By an ingenious contrivance called the dotter, Captain Scott made it possible to shoot well even when there was a considerable rolling of the ship. His reward came in May, 1899, when the *Scylla* fired seventy rounds and made fifty-six hits, exactly eighty per cent. She thus got to the top of the Navy in heavy-gun shooting, and made a record never before approached.

In September, 1899, Captain Scott was appointed to the *Terrible*, which was going to China. He found that the gunners' sights were wrongly constructed and unserviceable.

The low-power telescopes he replaced by others of high power and made many other improvements. The Boers crossed our frontier two days before the *Terrible* reached the Cape. Our Army had no long-range guns to cope with the superior artillery of the Boers. Sir George White sent an urgent telegram asking if the Navy could provide some long-range 4·7 inch guns, but the Admiral's experts reported it was impossible to get mountings for them. Captain Scott at once offered to get them made, and by four o'clock the following afternoon they were ready. An hour later the *Powerful* started at full speed to Durban, whence the guns were sent by rail to Ladysmith. Captain Scott wished to send 5,000 rounds of ammunition, but the Admiral only allowed 500 rounds to be taken. Captain Scott was appointed military commandant of Durban, and put the town in a state of defence. All approaches were guarded by batteries, and an armoured train was in readiness. Nine years later General Botha told Sir Percy Scott that but for these guns he would have flown the Vierkleur over the town-hall at Durban.

Captain Scott supplied General Buller with two 4·7 inch guns and sixteen long-range 12-pounders, which succeeded in silencing every enemy gun that they could locate at the Battle of Colenso. Martial law was established at Durban; Boer agents and spies were dealt with; two hospital ships were provided, and everything was done to assist in the war. Mr. Winston Churchill arrived as correspondent of the *Morning Post*, and was soon afterwards taken prisoner by the Boers. A month later he escaped, and half an hour after reaching Durban was off to the front.

In March, 1900, Captain Scott left Durban on his way to China, where he was able to render most important service by supplying four 12-pounders for the defence of Tientsin, and the relief force which was sent to Peking. When these operations were over, attention was given to the gunnery

of the *Terrible*, and a percentage of 76·8 hits was secured in the first prize firing.

At Hong Kong Captain Scott met a kindred spirit in Lieut. Sims, of the United States Navy, who was trying to impress upon the authorities the necessity of a reform in heavy-gun shooting. He met with strenuous opposition, but found a friend in President Roosevelt, and was at last made director of target practice. When captain he said at a public dinner at the Mansion House that if England was ever menaced by a foreign power, 'You may count upon every ship, every man, every dollar, and every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea.' For that utterance he was duly admonished, but when America intervened in the Great War he was made commander of the American naval forces in European waters. In the firing of 1901 Captain Scott's men scored 80 per cent. of hits. Petty Officer Grounds fired eight times in a minute, and made eight hits. That feat was then unprecedented and practically revolutionized naval gunnery. Grounds died of cholera, to his Captain's deep regret, who regarded him as worth more than his weight in gold. Other ships adopted Captain Scott's methods, with such results that seven years later the average hits of the Fleet were 79 per cent.

The *Terrible* had a great reception at Portsmouth in September, 1902, and on October 1, at Balmoral, King Edward invested her captain with the insignia of Commander of the Bath and of the Victorian Order. The King took him to a deer drive at Invercauld, and as Sir Percy did not get a stag he sent him out next day, when he got three heads. The following morning he had a long talk with his Majesty about the deplorable condition of gunnery in the Fleet and the need of better gun-sights.

Next April he was appointed Captain of the School of Gunnery, and was soon able to modernize the instruction given to officers and men. At his request the *Drake* was allowed to help him in forming his complete scheme of

battle practice. Sir Percy asked for the vessel because her Captain Jellicoe was conspicuous for his knowledge of gunnery. Sir Percy had a hard task. The Admiralty was apathetic; all the gun-sights were inefficient; there were no proper targets; no authorized scheme was arranged for battle. Sir Percy wrote a strong remonstrance to the Admiralty in 1904, when they had a conference and discovered that the guns of the whole Fleet would have to be resighted. Sir Percy's two years as captain of the *Excellent* were a continual war with the Admiralty. In 1905 he was appointed Inspector of Target Practice, and attended all the firings carried out by the Channel, Atlantic, and Mediterranean Fleets. The hits were 56 per cent. and the *Scylla*, once top ship of the Navy, had no hits at all. Great improvements were carried out, and the percentage of hits rose from 51 to 71 per cent. Sir Percy heard much of the efficiency of the German Navy, and visited Kiel. He was shown round, but was not allowed to see the range-finder. Prince Henry told him that the short-service system was his difficulty. Three years allowed no time to teach the higher grades of gunnery. The officers treated the men badly. Their only form of recreation was beer and dissipation. Sir Percy says 'this, no doubt, accounts for their cowardly and brutal conduct' during the war, and also for the fact that their fleet, without firing a shot, was driven into British harbours as meekly as a flock of sheep.'

In 1907 Sir Percy was appointed to command the Second Cruiser Squadron attached to the Channel Fleet, under Admiral Lord Charles Beresford. They did not get on well together, and the following year Sir Percy was put in command of a squadron of cruisers representing the mother country at the time of the convention held to discuss the closer union of the South African States. That imperial mission was a fitting sequel to Sir Percy's splendid service in the Boer War. Officers and men were fêted everywhere, and when they left South Africa they

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had a wonderful reception in Brazil and other places.

When he returned to England he found that Lord Fisher approved of the modifications he had made by which more time was given to training in war duties and less spent in housemaiding the ships. The First Sea Lord added that he was far too much ahead of his time, and had caused a good deal of annoyance by his departure from tradition. Sir John Jellicoe was now Controller of the Navy, and decided to fit H.M.S. *Neptune* with Sir Percy's director firing apparatus. When Mr. Winston Churchill became First Lord he determined to give the system a fair trial. In November, 1912, the *Thunderer*, fitted with Sir Percy's director apparatus, was matched with the *Orion*, then esteemed the best shooting ship in the Navy.

The range was nine thousand yards. The ships steamed at twelve knots, the targets were towed at the same rate. The *Thunderer* made beautiful shots, the *Orion* sent her shots all over the place. When the targets were examined after three minutes' firing, it was found that the *Thunderer* had scored three times as many hits as the *Orion*.

The Agadir scare in 1911 made Sir Percy acutely anxious, and he wrote to the Admiralty pointing out that the German Fleet had for some years used a very good modification of the director system. That, he asserted, would enable them to beat a British Fleet of similar vessels in moderate weather, and to annihilate it in rough weather. The Admiralty did nothing.

In 1912, however, Sir John Jellicoe made such a report to the Admiralty of the *Thunderer's* success that orders were given to provide all the later ships with the director apparatus, by which one officer or man could lay and fire all the guns. When the war broke out only eight battleships had been thus fitted, but early in 1915 arrangements were made, with the assistance of Sir Percy Scott, by which the battleships and battle cruisers were supplied with the system without being put out of action.

Early in 1913 Sir Percy was made Admiral and retired. He was employed by the Admiralty on director firing, and was thinking much about the most successful means of grappling with submarines. He pointed out to the Admiralty that the Germans were building many large submarines, but could not get them to regard the submarine as anything more than a toy. Failing to move the authorities he wrote to the press, with the result that their Lordships took away the pay he had received for helping them with director firing. When war broke out he offered to serve in any capacity that the Admiralty might desire. The letter was not acknowledged, but in November he was asked to assist in various ways. At his suggestion rams were fixed on our torpedo boats, destroyers, and trawlers. He designed a bomb which could be thrown down on a submarine near the surface. That was rapidly introduced. The proposal for a depth charge to be dropped from an aeroplane or surface craft was also suggested, but was not adopted for a couple of years. That delay probably involved a loss of £200,000,000.

When the Battle of Jutland was fought on May 31, 1916, only six ships of our Fleet were completely fitted with director firing; we had no Zeppelins, and our guns were outranged by those of the Germans. Sir John Jellicoe had to use projectiles inferior to theirs, and in firing at night was utterly unclassified. For that reason Sir John Jellicoe did not seek a night action. Sir Percy's elder son, a midshipman of sixteen, said to him a week before the engagement: 'Father, if we have a scrap, our gunnery lieutenant says we shall not have a dog's chance, as our extemporized director which we have rigged up is not reliable, and the Germans can outrange our guns. We have only got 15° of elevation, the Germans have got 30°. They will be pumping shell into us, and our guns won't reach them by a couple of miles.' A week later his ship was sent to the bottom and he went with it. Sir Percy says his son was quite right.

In January, 1915, Sir Percy was offered the naval command at the Dardanelles, but declined it because he felt that the task was impossible for the inefficient ships then in the Mediterranean. On September 8, 1915, a Zeppelin dropped bombs on London. Three days later Mr. Balfour asked Sir Percy to take over the gunnery defence of London. After thirteen months of war we had eight 3-inch high-angle guns; four 6-pounders with bad gun-sights, 6 pom-poms, and some Maxims which would not fire as high as a Zeppelin and were only a danger to the people below. Paris had 215 guns to protect forty-nine square miles, London had eight to defend seven hundred square miles. We had no trained airmen, no lighted-up aerodromes. Sir Percy got a gun as a model from Paris, and soon had more than 150 guns ready for action. It was a wonder, as General Galliene said, that in our defenceless days Zeppelins did not come over every day.

As to the future of the Navy, Sir Percy says he regarded the surface battleship as dead before the war, and thinks her more dead now, if possible. A battleship costs about eight millions, and for that sum we could provide many aeroplane-carrying ships with aeroplanes, ten of which could carry over 100,000 lb. of high explosives; the amount carried by a 30,000-ton battleship. The battleship is useless in peace, but the aeroplanes and the ships that carry them could be employed for carrying passengers. The future is with the aeroplane. In a few years we shall probably have submersible battleships of 10,000 tons. 'What chance will the surface battleship, presenting a huge target, have against such a vessel?' The country owes a great debt to the man who has faced complicated naval problems so resolutely, and found solutions for so many of them. He has felt too deeply to be silent, and if others had had more of his spirit we should have come more triumphantly than we did out of the ten thousand perils of the Great War.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

HUMANIZING INDUSTRY ¹

THE aim of the Welfare Movement may be summed up in a single phrase—to humanize industry. Modern industrial conditions have abolished the old personal contact between employer and worker with its opportunities of cultivating sympathy and understanding. Welfare work seeks to bridge the gap, to soften asperities, and to reintroduce the human element in the relations of the commissioned ranks of industry with the rank and file.

Another important aspect of Welfare work must not be overlooked. The present world-situation demands a maximum output from workers of all grades. Wise employers are recognizing that to secure and maintain this maximum the health and well-being of those in their employ must be carefully safeguarded.

Welfare work is no modern innovation in this country. As Miss Proud shows in her authoritative monograph on the movement, efforts to improve the conditions of factory life were by no means unknown as early as 1850. The model town of Saltaire, erected by the philanthropic Sir Titus Salt about that date, was the prototype of the modern industrial garden cities at Port Sunlight and Bournville. But the example of the firms of Lever, Cadbury, and Rowntree has quickened the public conscience; and the wholesale recruiting of the feminine and boy population for war industries enforced upon employers a sense of responsibility for the well-being of their workers to a greater extent than before. This is one of the few 'refreshing fruits' of the war, and in the interests alike of the individual worker, the employer, and the community, every possible effort should be made to conserve it in the days of peace. Speaking generally, Welfare work comprises a canteen or dining-room, clubs for sports, an ambulance, medical and dental inspection, and some form of thrift encouragement. But it is also extended to include educational facilities, social diversions, cadet corps, gymnasium, annual camps, outings, and a number of other activities. The prime necessity for successful work on these lines is a capable Welfare Supervisor, who initiates and co-ordinates all the activities, and who acts as a court of appeal in cases of dispute and misunderstanding and as a sympathetic adviser to the workers.

A recent tour of investigation of such work in the metropolitan area and a series of interviews with Welfare Supervisors has enabled the writer to estimate the growing value of this movement.

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The first conclusion is that the experience of Welfare work is increasingly impressing employers with its mutual advantages. A striking instance is afforded in the case of a firm of motor cycle manufacturers in South-East London. The heads of the firm are much more closely in touch with their employees than the generality of employers. When the question of introducing definite Welfare work and of appointing a Supervisor was broached, they were not convinced of the advantages. However, they consented to make the experiment, but stipulated that the engagement of a Supervisor should be limited to six months. Before four months had elapsed they were so convinced of the value of the work that the appointment of the Supervisor was made permanent and his powers considerably enlarged.

In the case of a second firm, working under widely different conditions, a similar though slower development of appreciation has occurred. This firm is engaged in producing vegetable oils, margarine, and cattle cakes from copra and palm kernels, and the conditions of work are inevitably dirty and greasy. The men and boys employed belong to the lower grades of labour and there is little skilled work. When the Welfare Supervisor came on the ground he found in the works a decidedly frigid and difficult atmosphere. The principals and managers were entirely out of touch with the men, the managers not even knowing the names of the employees in their departments. Under such circumstances the Supervisor found a dead weight of prejudice and suspicion to be overcome before progress could be made. But the Supervisor's work has brought home to the managers the desirability of cultivating a knowledge of the human side of the men under their direction, and step by step a better spirit is permeating the factory. It should be mentioned that in this firm a Works Industrial Committee on the lines of the Whitley Report has been in existence for some time. But until Welfare work was established this experiment in promoting a spirit of co-operation and mutual confidence was very unpromising. Here again the Welfare Movement has engendered a new atmosphere, and the representatives of the men are beginning to take a spontaneous part in the Committee's deliberations. This experience indicates that the mere establishment of Industrial Committees is insufficient by itself; it requires also the humanizing influence of Welfare work to produce an atmosphere favourable to success.

In some establishments Welfare work is confined to boys: in others it extends to the whole staff, male and female. An admirable example of the former type is furnished by a well-known motor engine works in North London. Here stress is laid upon the educational side, though sports and social life are by no means neglected. This firm has instituted a system of free apprenticeship under which the parents of a boy sign an agreement for five years. The firm engages to teach the lad his trade and pay him at full current rates during the period of apprenticeship. No premium is imposed, but the firm reserves the right to discharge any boy who proves to be a

'slacker' or a 'rotter.' This system offers distinct advantages to the smart, hardworking lad and is highly appreciated by parents. The responsibility of engaging and discharging boys is laid upon the Welfare Supervisor, and records of each boy's physical condition, mental acquirements, and progress in his work are carefully kept. By vigilant oversight the Supervisor is able to detect any sign of physical unfitness for the work, and duly notifies the parents if medical inspection is advisable.

A notable instance of work among boys on a large scale is afforded by one of the trunk railways. The depravity and neglected condition of the vanboys, about a thousand of whom are in the company's employment, excited the commiseration of a high official. As a result of investigation, an experienced member of his staff was set apart to deal with the problem. His functions are to instruct newly engaged boys in their duties, and by heart-to-heart talks win their confidence and help them to go straight. He also gets into touch with their homes, and by tactful suggestion is often able to secure them better conditions of life and more regular and punctual attendance at work. If a boy gets into trouble with the police, this official takes up the case, and unless the lad shows really criminal tendencies, the company, on the Welfare Supervisor's recommendation, gives him another chance. The reproach that this occupation is a blind alley employment has been removed by the provision of a system of training which fits the vanboy for appointment to other duties in the company's service when he becomes too old for van work.

Broadly speaking, however, experience shows that where men and boys are employed together, Welfare work cannot and ought not to be limited to the latter.

The social and recreative side of the Welfare Movement is well illustrated in another firm engaged in the motor industry, where the staff includes boys and girls. Throughout the winter there is a continuous series of entertainments, the profit derived from which helps to finance the sports clubs, though the firm is very liberal in the matter of grants. Swimming, cycling, boxing, and football clubs are flourishing. No class distinctions are recognized on the social side, and from manager to office boy all meet on a footing of perfect equality. The canteen arrangements in this firm are particularly good. Excellent and varied menus are provided at a very reasonable price, and for the convenience of those who bring their food with them, a trolley goes round the workshops each morning to collect the food which requires warming up.

Methods of running the canteen differ. In the case just cited the responsibility is borne by a committee containing representatives of each department elected by ballot. In other firms a special canteen manager is employed; whilst elsewhere the Welfare Supervisor adds this to his numerous duties. But in all cases the Supervisor maintains oversight of the canteen and sees that the interests of all the employees are duly regarded. If the class of labour and the rate of wages are high, the canteen is generally self-supporting:

but in the lower class of factory or in cases where the buying department is not capably managed, there is need of a grant in aid.

An important part of the Welfare Supervisor's duties is the encouragement of thrift, and much has been achieved in this direction in connection with the various Government loans, as well as in regular saving associations such as provident societies, sick and holiday clubs.

A point vital to the success of Welfare work is that there should exist complete freedom of access to the Supervisor. So far as the writer's investigations have gone, this condition is ungrudgingly conceded by the employers. Strict rules are made that any employee may go to the Supervisor's office at any time without let or hindrance, and the Supervisor is allowed to move about the workshops and talk with the workers as he pleases. As a rule, foremen are ready to co-operate with him and will send along a troublesome boy to be interviewed rather than report him to the works manager. The principals also welcome complete frankness and independence of judgement on the part of the Supervisor when stating the case for their employees, and are willing to furnish full particulars in any case of dismissal and to allow an appeal if the facts warrant it.

It may be asked if the presence of the Welfare Supervisor does not excite the suspicion among the workers that he is 'only another dodge of the employer.' Admittedly the Supervisor's position is a delicate one. He must act as a buffer between master and man, and he is of course dependent on the firm's goodwill for the retention of his position. But the Supervisors whom the writer has interviewed are unanimous in declaring that after a few weeks' working any suspicion that at first existed has worn off, and the employees gladly avail themselves of the Supervisor's counsel and help. They soon realize the value of having an advocate who will state their case to the employer or manager more effectively than they are able to do. Naturally the holder of this post must be a person of tact and firmness; he must possess moral courage and a sense of humour; and, above all, must be imbued with a real keenness for the betterment of those among whom he works.

Such antagonism as is encountered usually springs from the workers' organizations. For example, in the case of the railway company cited above, a large scheme for the social, physical, and recreative interests of the vanboys on Boy Scout lines was vetoed by the local branch of the National Union of Railwaymen on the ground that it would promote 'militarism.' This attitude was disavowed by the high officials of the N.U.R., to whom appeal was made. But the local opposition was too strong to be overridden and a promising scheme was dropped.

The capable Supervisor finds his best opportunity of establishing a close contact with the workers in the sports clubs and social diversions. But one official of large experience with boys laid emphatic stress upon the incomparable value in this respect of an annual

camp. 'It means a week of the hardest labour from dawn till dusk, but it pays well.'

The supply of qualified and capable Supervisors is essential to the progress of the Welfare Movement, and here the organization known as the Industrial Welfare Society, Tothill Street, Westminster, under the able direction of Mr. Robert R. Hyde, is doing valuable service in helping suitable men and recommending them to firms, as well as by encouraging firms to make a beginning with such work.

Regimental officers often make admirable supervisors, their experience in handling men and looking after the well-being of their platoon or company standing them in good stead. For men of high ideals, sound common sense, and broad humanity, no more promising field of social service exists.

ARTHUR PAGE GRUBB.

SAMUEL BUTLER

THE author of *Erewhon* has a place of his own in our literature, and Mr. Festing Jones has met the desire for ample information about him and his work with no grudging hand in the *Memoir* just published by Macmillan & Co. (2 volumes, 42s. net). Butler's father was the only son of Dr. Samuel Butler, who went to Shrewsbury School when it had only one boarder and made it the most famous school in England. He was afterwards Bishop of Lichfield. At the time of Samuel's birth, in 1835, his father was Rector of Langar-with-Bramston. The boy was sent to Shrewsbury in 1848 under Dr. Kennedy. He showed a neat wit as a schoolboy when his aunt reproved him for eating bread with both butter and honey. 'Don't you remember,' she asked, 'The queen was in the parlour eating bread and honey,' she was not eating bread and butter and honey.' The boy of fourteen or fifteen replied that the Bible expressly enjoined us to eat butter with our honey. 'Butter and honey,' it said, '*shalt thou eat.*' In 1854 he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, and was bracketed 12th in the Classical Tripos of 1858. Whilst preparing for ordination he worked as a lay assistant in St. James's, Piccadilly. He read his Greek Testament with much care, but could not see his way to be ordained, and returned to Cambridge hoping to secure pupils. In September, 1859, he sailed for New Zealand to join the Christchurch colony, started on Church of England principles. He secured a run of 8,000 acres of mountain land, and after a year had about 3,000 sheep on it. Canon Butler gave him £4,400 and lent him £600 more.

During this life as a sheep farmer he was thinking much about Christianity. He told his cousin in 1861 that he refused to enter into disquisitions as to the nature of the Trinity, but added, 'I believe Jesus Christ to have been the Son of God as much now as ever; but exactly how or exactly in what degree I don't care to

inquire, for I feel that the inquiry only leads me into paths which human intelligence cannot tread.' The breach with faith widened till he wrote 'I renounce Christianity altogether.'

In 1864 he returned to England, having found the life of a sheep farmer utterly uncongenial. He had, however, greatly improved his property and sold it well, leaving the money invested in New Zealand at ten per cent. Butler took rooms in Clifford's Inn, and in 1865 published a pamphlet: *The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ as given by the Four Evangelists critically examined*. He came to the conclusion that Christ swooned on the cross, but recovered consciousness after His body had passed into the keeping of Joseph of Arimathea. As he put it in a later work: 'It is not probable that a man officially executed should escape death, but that a dead man should escape from it is more improbable still.' Butler rejects 'all idea of fraud on the part of the first founders of Christianity.' 'I need not say with what satisfaction I retain my belief in the perfect sincerity of those who lived and died for the religion which they founded.' That is a strange conclusion. The Apostles were not likely to have been mistaken as to the facts, and nothing less than absolute confidence in the Resurrection could have sustained them in the daily martyrdom which they had to face. The pamphlet made little or no impression, but *Erewhon*, published anonymously in 1872, at once took high rank as a work of satire and imagination. It had compelled him to write it as a peg for his meditations on men and things. He thought that he would then relinquish writing for ever and stick to painting, which he intended to make his profession. He had wished to do this before he went to New Zealand, but his father strongly disapproved of the idea. At Mr. Heatherley's School of Art in Newman Street he met Miss Savage, the daughter of an architect, and formed a close friendship with her. She had been governess in the family of the Rev. John Sumner, son of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Her letters show that she was a woman of unusual ability. Butler showed her all his writings and remodelled them in accordance with her criticisms and suggestions. It is probable that if he had proposed marriage in the early years of their friendship she would have accepted him, but she had neither beauty nor health. She was lame and was threatened with paralysis, and finally died of cancer in 1885. Butler admired her unselfishness, her goodness, her brilliancy, though he says that 'in spite of all my admiration, respect, gratitude, and compunction at my own inability to requite her affection for me in the only way that would have satisfied her, she bored me almost beyond endurance.'

His father was greatly distressed by his religious views, and told him that *Erewhon* had caused his mother's death. That was by no means the case, though she was much disturbed by the position he had taken. Unfortunately there was no sympathy between father and son. Butler wrote in 1883: 'He never liked me, nor I him; from my earliest recollections I can call to mind no time when I did

not fear him and dislike him. . . . For years and years I have never passed a day without thinking of him many times over as the man who was sure to be against me, and who would see the bad side rather than the good of everything I said and did.' He admitted that he had done many very silly and very wrong things, but felt that 'an unkind fate never threw two men together who were more naturally uncongenial than my father and myself.' That is a painful statement, but one can see at a glance how much the author of *Erewhon* lost by this lack of sympathy and understanding.

His biographer says that Butler 'recognized in later life that Christianity is not necessarily all bad merely because Jesus Christ did not rise from the dead. Mixed up with the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Trinity, none of which was of any use to him, there are eternal truths, as there are in all religions, however much they may contain that is false.' That is strange treatment indeed for the truths which form the soul of Christianity. But Butler did not speak disrespectfully of religion. A friend who read the MS. of *Erewhon Revisited*, in 1901, made some criticism which led him to reply, 'I did not mean to poke fun at Christianity. Anything but that. However, I must not do anything that can be mistaken for this. I do not and never did wish to do so.' At many points he was nearer to orthodoxy than he seemed. Nevertheless there is both irreverence and bad taste in various expressions used in the book, and Miss Savage certainly set her friend in this respect an unhappy example.

Butler told Dr. Harvey Goodwin that he was one of those who 'find themselves driven first to evolution, then to purposive evolution, and, through this, to the action of a supreme, all-pervading mind or purpose in both organic and inorganic matter.' Nor is it less significant that he writes to his sister in 1883: 'Men like Huxley and Tyndall are my natural enemies, and I am always glad when I find Church people recognizing that the differences between them and me are, as I believe myself, more of words than of things.'

He invested his New Zealand money in companies which came to grief and reduced his capital to about £2,000. Paoli, whom he had brought back from New Zealand that he might study at the Bar and to whom he allowed £200 a year, took that amount from him for 33 years. It was only after his death that Butler learned that the income of this so-called friend had really been larger than his own. The net value of his estate was £9,000. His father had warned him of his misplaced generosity, but for twelve years, amid increasing monetary anxieties, he bore the additional strain of helping Paoli. Anxiety about money ceased after the death of Canon Butler in 1886. Mr. Jones now gave up his position as managing clerk in the office of Sir Thomas Paine, the solicitor, to help his friend with his music and his writing. Butler allowed him £200 a year, which he accepted till 1900, when his mother's death made him independent and he returned the money he had received. The close association between the friends was a great success. They composed

music, travelled together, and spent part of each day in company. To that intimacy we owe this fine biography, full of sympathy and insight.

Butler now began to write his grandfather's Life. He had had an altogether mistaken conception of his character, but in studying his letters 'fell head over ears in love with him.' He was a man of 'indomitable perseverance, quick perception of the main point in any question, patience under provocation; placable almost to a fault; generous not less so; straightforwardness, sincerity, and hatred of anything mean or unworthy, almost unsurpassable.' Butler finished his book in 1896, but could not persuade any publisher to take the risk. He finally got Mr. Murray to publish it for him. Up to the end of 1899 only 201 copies had been sold, and Butler had lost £193. *Erewhon* had then had a sale of 3,842 copies, and had brought him in a profit of £69. Up to the end of 1899 he had lost £779 on his books. Every book that he published cost him about £100. Bishop Creighton was enchanted with Butler's *Alps and Sanctuaries*, and invited him to Peterborough for a week-end in 1894. They made friends at once. Butler says very few men had ever impressed him so profoundly and so favourably as Dr. Creighton. He became a frequent Sunday visitor at Fulham, where his kindliness and simple courtesy made a great impression on Cuthbert Creighton, then a youth of eighteen. Butler was not always easy to get on with, but he had a warm and generous heart. He was a humorist of rare gifts, who sometimes puzzled outsiders in infusing a mixture of levity to save it from being heavy. He died in June 18, 1902, at the age of sixty-six.

JOHN TELFORD.

HYMNS

A HYMN seems such an easy thing to write, that it is no wonder the hymn-writers and even the hymn-books are almost countless. But really nothing in the form of verse proves to be more difficult. Tennyson, we believe, wrote only one piece of the kind, and Rudyard Kipling cannot be credited with more. Some dignitaries of the Church, bishops, deans, and canons, appear to imagine that they are *ex-officio* peculiarly qualified for this kind of work. But theology is no training for hymnology. Rather the contrary, it tends to produce a prosy mind. And the pitiable results attained by the dignitaries show their mistake. For in a hymn proper we have to reconcile polar opposites, the simple and the sublime, the personal and the impersonal, the subjective and the objective, the universal and the particular. And it demands a man of real genius to do this with any sort of success. Matthew Arnold, one of our finest critics, said with truth, German hymns are a monument of a nation's strength, English hymns are a monument of a nation's weakness. Probably there are not more than a hundred good hymns in all our numerous hymnals. We have only two outstanding names—Cowper and Charles

Wesley. And the Nonconformist poets are perhaps superior to the Anglicans. Keble's hymns are more suitable for private study and devotions and not generally fit for public worship. He gives the impression of writing in tight stays. He was indeed a poet of the first class, but very few of his beautiful compositions are adapted for popular use. Faber wrote too prettily and too prolixly to write often really well. His romps in rhyme sometimes offend our taste and weary our souls. Of course there are many of the worst hymns so closely associated with our earliest beliefs and most precious memories, that we feel it would be profane to criticize them; we took them then as we took our wives, for better or worse. Such we accept as unquestionable treasures, and household words. We are blind, and perhaps rightly, to their grotesque and glaring defects. But even if included in every hymnal, they remain bad work. We would no more venture to condemn them than to botanize on our mother's grave. Robert Bridges, in his *Yattendon Hymnal*, has offered us specimens of his own writing. But though they stand many crucial tests, they are, like most of his work, rather wooden in character. They want fire and force, as well as simplicity. And his more ambitious poems, though they display Greek restraint and Greek form, lack anything of Greek inspiration. He never dares to let himself go. But he does know how the task should be executed, if he does not practise what he preaches. His efforts are not at all mediocre, but rather immoderate moderation—not the heaven-sent and heaven-taught singer.

Culture and classical education, if naturally not unacceptable here, are, nevertheless, not necessary qualifications for the hymn-writer. And the most popular exponents of the art have sometimes been ignorant and unlearned men and women, but their productions prove that they have been with Jesus and have drunk deeply of His Spirit. They are Christ-intoxicated singers. There is no 'fine frenzy' of the drama, but the spontaneous lyrical rapture of the lark mounting in the privacy of light up to its native heaven. They sing because they must, and not because they can. The passion of a religious fervour acts as a driving power that compels and impels them. The love of Christ constraineth them. Mere talent only enables, but true genius necessitates the spiritual outburst. It is an upheaval of the being. Flame must burn, wind must blow, water must flow, and the heaven-born singer must sing. The blue sky of eternity is his home. Unfortunately some of our Church dignitaries forget this. But what did S. T. Coleridge say of such pretenders?

Swans sing before they die; 'twere no bad thing,
Should certain persons die before they sing.

It is difficult, in these days of over-production, to meet any one who has not published a hymnal or at least contributed to one, and connived at a literary crime. And really when you get to know them and talk with them, they are most excellent fellows, worthy members

of society and living blameless lives, who would not kill a fly, and yet have been cruel murderers of the King's English and a noble art.

Too many of these good people seem to have embarked upon their work without the slightest idea of what they were going to do, equipt only with good intentions. But to write a good hymn requires the strength of a giant and the open-mindedness of a child. It must be an effortless effort, and yet scale the skies and plumb the deepest abysses of human nature. It will harness together the babble of a brook and the swell of ocean. It will gather public and cosmic notes into private feelings and personal confessions, and individualize the cravings of all societies, the highest and the lowest. Every one of every class or order of mind finds pabulum in a good hymn, that appeals to something fundamental or ultimate in his nature and common to humanity. Though associated with a public act of service, it will touch the most private recesses of the heart. Soul music never speaks in vain. The prosiest citizen discovers his real self at last in one of the dozen or so great hymns that constitute our limited stock of their possessions, when the most eloquent sermon leaves no echo in his breast. One universal sigh at the unveiling of sin, when set to song in this way, as only a master like Cowper and Charles Wesley can set it, brings him to his knees at once when all the thunders of Sinai from the pulpit have not moved him. And it will sing in his memory for ever. For here the particular and the universal are one and the same thing. 'A touch of Nature makes the whole world kin.' Devotional hymns stand apart, they are mainly for the chamber or the study. And we are thinking now merely of congregational hymns and their corporate uses for the heart of worshippers. A good hymn, a great hymn, is a kind of embodied conscience, a kind of little Christ. It is a beautiful summation of the profounder thoughts and feelings that stir the soul, the sweetest passions of the profoundest life. It draws on the eternal, and pulses in vitality with the most sacred symbolism of our Christian religion. Hope, faith, love are its elements, the quickening stuff of the raw materials which it transmutes into reality and poetry. A child can understand it, and a philosopher sees his broadest measure outmeasured. Many of the Psalms and the three Isaiahs overflow with this inspired and inspiring teaching. They are world music and talk to us in world melodies. The baby in his mother's arms drinks in the strains greedily, and grows into the harmony they suggest unconsciously and naturally. They enter into his very being and form part of it. He is being built up

As Ilium like a mist rose into towers.

He gradually gains from them soul, form, and soul-substance. For he recognizes in them his own self, depicted in generous lines. They help to mould his mind and construct his spiritual stature.

Prayer and praise should be mingled in unequal proportions. That is to say, praise should be the predominant portion of the subject matter. We adore God, we glorify Him wherever and whenever we

can. He is the supreme object of our worship. He who inhabits the praises of Israel. He deserves our first and last homage. Because every good gift and every perfect gift is from above and cometh down from the Father. The circumference of our hymns, so to speak, may be embroidered with other and earthlier thoughts and feelings, but the centre-giving life and unity to the whole must be the great Fountainhead of all. For our God is a jealous God, and brooks no rival near His throne. His mercy endureth for ever, and His might controls the totality of our ways and means. Because He is so merciful and infinite Love, therefore He is also a consuming fire.

Piety, no doubt, goes very far indeed, and must always be an indispensable factor in the creation of a good hymn. But without the dynamic of true poetry beneath it, without the inspiration, there will be no wings with which to fly, no sacred flame with which to burn, no kindling light with which to shine for ever and ever. And in the Cross of Christ are inexhaustible fountains of revelation, always new while always old. A merely subjective hymn is a piece of vulgar and undesirable egotism, by which the individual simply voices his own views and desires, it has no corporate backbone or oasis, but confronts us as miserably invertebrate and selfish. And, on the other hand, a merely objective hymn could only be sung appropriately by a deist.

We want a happy combination of the two factors, the objective and the subjective, the personal and the impersonal, the universal and the particular, with the objective slightly in ascendancy. And then the spirit of optimism which all good congregational hymns should breathe may be chastened with the charm of joyful fear and humble misgiving, together with the faint possible suggestion of a remote and subdued personal neediness. The matter of hymns should be the great elemental emotions of hope and awe, gladness and sorrow, not unmingled with fundamental beliefs and aspirations, glorified by reverence and reserve. But nothing will be unreasonable. There must be fire, because there must be feeling. A merely unemotional hymn will never stir the minds of men or strengthen their convictions. No enthusiasm, no vital movement of any kind can be initiated or maintained without a certain amount of passionate energy. Hymns should set souls ablaze with love. But this is an indispensable ingredient in all hymns, that they should be intensely alive and immensely human. It does not imply a mawkish sentimentalism or a maudlin rhetoric, from which some of Faber's and even other excellent hymns are by no means free. There is peace at the heart of the stormiest strains. But we fail to find the real thing, the true note in Bickersteth's famous hymn, 'Peace, perfect peace.'

We cannot recapture the past temper of any time, either the Elizabethan, or the age of Wesley and Whitefield, or the Oxford Movement, or the Cambridge Movement with its Simeon and others. There is little or no religious spirit abroad now, when everything has been thrown into the melting-pot, churches and institutions alike, and the most sacred things without exception. In spite of the

loud talk about reconstruction of creeds and services, nothing is done. The War has killed the higher life, and love of money and pleasure reigns supreme. No good hymns or hymnist can arise out of chaos.

F. W. ORDE WARD.

JOHN EVELYN

THE tercentenary of the birth of one of the most famous and fascinating diarists should not be allowed to pass without special notice. 'Evelyn's Diary,' although not nearly so full or 'gossipy' as that of Pepys, is far more valuable to the historian. Pepys chronicled the events of his life for the ten years 1659-1669, while Evelyn relates the most important and interesting details of a long life lasting from 1620-1706. Moving as Evelyn did in the highest society of his day, on terms of intimacy not only with kings, courtiers, and statesmen but with eminent men in religion, science, and literature, both of his own and foreign countries, his *Diary* forms a valuable commentary on the contemporary events of the stormy and momentous epoch in which he lived, and is therefore of very great worth to the student of the history, social customs, and scientific progress of the times. His ample fortune rendered Evelyn politically independent, and in spite of his strong personal predilections, he possessed on the whole an impartial and temperate judgement on the current events of his day. Although an ardent and enthusiastic royalist and on terms of intimacy with all the Stuart kings, like Clarendon, Evelyn was strongly opposed to the arbitrary measures of these sovereigns. From the Restoration till his death, however, he enjoyed unbroken royal favour. He must evidently have been a man not only of conspicuous ability but also of cultured tastes and engaging manners, since he was a *persona grata* with all the famous and eminent men and women of his time, who delighted to enjoy his society and to accept his hospitality. He travelled very widely on the Continent and spoke French, Italian, and Spanish fluently.

The Evelyns were an ancient and honourable family who had for several generations been settled in Surrey, and they were possessed of considerable wealth. John Evelyn's great grandfather manufactured gunpowder at Long Ditton. John received his early education from the village schoolmaster at Long Ditton and then at a Free school at Southover. At the age of twelve he declined to go to Eton at his father's request, but at sixteen he was entered at the Middle Temple, and at seventeen went up to Balliol College as a Fellow Commoner, where he studied for the next three years. His tastes were, however, at this time more in the line of music, sports, and pleasure than of books or law, which he cared little about. Soon after the outbreak of the Civil War, finding that he could be of very little service to the King's cause, since his estates, being so near London, were completely in the power of the Parliament, he

sought and obtained the royal leave to travel abroad and made a tour of France, Flanders, and Holland. It was not until ten years later that he finally returned to live in England under Cromwell's government. He settled in 1652 at Sayes Court, Deptford, with his young wife, the daughter of Sir R. Browne, the ambassador at Charles II's Court in Paris. We are inclined to wonder whether the persecution and proscription of 'Prelatists' and 'Malignants' during the Commonwealth were as severe as has been sometimes represented when we find that Evelyn, a prominent Churchman and Cavalier, lived comfortably and on friendly terms with the ministers at the Protector's Court and was actually able to carry on unmolested a clandestine correspondence with Charles II through the medium of his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne. The Government also apparently connived at his refusal to take the Covenant. In 1660 he was appointed to accompany the deputation from the Parliament to Charles II at Breda, inviting him to return to England, but illness prevented his compliance.

After the Restoration he was much employed in the public or, as we should now term it, the Civil Service, filled many important offices and sat on several Royal Commissions, although his retiring disposition led him to refuse any signal honours. He was Commissioner for improving the streets and buildings of London in Charles II's reign and later on was appointed Treasurer of the newly-founded Greenwich Hospital and was Commissioner of the Privy Seal under James II. In 1661 he refused the decoration of a K.C.B., and also twice refused the presidency of the Royal Society, of which he had been one of the most active founders. In spite of his numerous public employments, Evelyn was a diligent student and a voluminous author, his best known works being his *Sylva* and his *Diary*. For his influence in securing the famous Arundelian marbles and library for Oxford University he was given the degree of D.C.L. It is also interesting to notice that shortly before his death he was elected a member of the newly formed Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He suffered great bereavement in his family, several of his children dying when quite young, and only one son reaching manhood. He inherited his father's love of learning, but died before Evelyn himself at the comparatively early age of 44.

Among the many notable contemporary public events which Evelyn records—the execution of Strafford, the funeral of Cromwell, the Restoration of Charles II—certainly none is more fully or graphically described than the terrible Fire of London in 1666. 'All the sky,' he declares, 'was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant my eyes never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame. . . . The clouds of smoke were dismal and reached near 50 miles in length. Thus I left it . . . a resemblance of Sodom or the last day. . . . London was but is no more'; while a week later he records: 'I went again to the ruins, for it was no longer a City.'

Mr. G. W. E. Russell adduces Evelyn's life as a proof of the truth of Mr. Shorthouse's statement in *John Inglesant* that 'the Cavalier was not invariably a drunken brute,' and certainly no better example of a truly pious Cavalier could be given. But while it is impossible to believe that all the piety and godliness of the day was with the Puritan and all the profanity and vice with the Cavalier, there is little doubt that Evelyn's exemplary career is not really representative or typical of the men of his party. His frequent laments at the dissolutism and depravity of the society in which he mixed give us a fairly good indication that his own example was rather the exception than the rule amongst courtiers and Cavaliers of the Restoration period, even if they did not all, as Macaulay insinuates, 'utter ribaldry and blasphemy and haunt brothels and gambling-houses.'

Evelyn's mother died when he was fourteen, and his father when he was twenty-one, and the loss of both parents at such an early age made a great and apparently permanent spiritual impression on one who, as he describes himself, was at this time of 'a raw, vain, uncertain, and very unwary inclination, thinking of nothing but the pursuit of vanity and the confused imaginations of young men.' In spite, however, of the many temptations and allurements which must have surrounded one who moved freely amidst the gay, frivolous, and licentious society of his day, Evelyn preserved the simple, pure faith of a true Christian and a reputation for virtue and integrity all too rare in that corrupt and degenerate age. Not only did he always humbly acknowledge God's special providence in preserving him from attacks by pirates and robbers, but each birthday was set apart as a time of solemn self-examination and of re-dedication to the service of his God and Saviour. Thus on his 60th birthday he declares: 'I participated of the Blessed Communion, finishing and confirming my resolutions of giving up myself more entirely to God, to whom I had now most solemnly devoted the rest of the poor remainder of life in this world,' while seventeen years later he tells a friend that he is 'every day trussing up to be gone, I hope to a better place.' In his religious views, Evelyn was a staunch and devoted Churchman, and his sympathies were entirely with the new 'High' Church school, inaugurated by Archbishop Laud and the Arminians. Although he was not intolerant of other opinions, he had little love for, or sympathy with, the English 'sectaries,' whom he sometimes describes as the 'Canters.' When travelling on the Continent, however, he attended Presbyterian worship in Holland and a Huguenot service in Charenton, and also the Reformed Church when at Geneva. He was deeply affected by the barbarous persecution of the French Protestants owing to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, attributing it largely to the slackness and duplicity of Charles II in failing to uphold and defend the teaching of the Reformed Church of England for the good not only of England but of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, 'now weakened and near ruined through our remissness and suffering them to be sup-

planted, persecuted, and destroyed, as in France, which we took no notice of.'

Evelyn was naturally greatly distressed at the broken and shattered condition of the Church during the Commonwealth *régime* and at the sufferings and privations of her clergy. He frequently entertained at his home the ejected and destitute divines, and in 1650 he was present at a secret ordination service in Sir R. Browne's private chapel in Paris, conducted by the Bishop of Galloway, and on his return to England, when the public use of the Liturgy was proscribed he had all the offices and services of the Church regularly and faithfully performed in his library at Sayes Court. He relates, however, that as late as 1655 the Government connived at the use of the Liturgy at St. Gregory's church, in London, although in December of the same year he chronicles the Protector's harshest and final persecuting edict: 'I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of Preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer Sacraments, teach schools, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, for the Church of England herself, since the Reformation, to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter.' This Edict does not, however, appear to have been very stringently enforced, since on several future occasions Evelyn records visits to London to attend Church services and to receive the Sacrament ministered secretly in private houses by famous Anglican divines. Again, in 1659, we find another mournful entry in his *Diary* that 'the Nation was now in extreme confusion and unsettled, between the Army and the Secretaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last, so sad a face of things had overspread us,' and shortly after he records that a private fast was kept in London by 'the Church of England Protestants' to 'beg of God the removal of His judgements, with devout prayers for His mercy to our calamitous Church.' His *Diary* furnishes abundant evidence that the High Churchman of the renowned Caroline period had none of the mediaeval and pro-Roman sympathies of many of our modern High Anglicans, who repudiate and deride the designation of 'Protestant.' In 1688, when the country was flooded with controversial pamphlets in support of the Romish or Protestant faiths, Evelyn wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury urging him to see that the title and position of the Church of England were safeguarded from the false claims of the Romanists by the insertion of the words 'Reformed and Protestant' before any treatise in defence of the Church of England as by law established, advice which the Archbishop both appreciated and acted upon. Of Evelyn's loyalty to Protestantism there was no question. He describes the Pope as 'Antichrist,' and refers to Bishop Cosin's son, after his perversion to Rome, as having 'been debauched by the priests.' Romish services and ritual he styles as 'the fopperies of the Papists.' He refused to license the pervert Dr.

Obadiah Walker's books after he had become, as he terms him, 'an apostate.'

It is also interesting to notice, in view of current controversies, that the Confirmation rubric, although at that time lacking the saving clause 'or be ready and desirous to be confirmed,' could have by no means been universally or strictly enforced, since we find that a definite High Churchman like Evelyn did not scruple to receive his first Communion over two years before he was confirmed! He also records that as late as 1694 the Holy Communion was only celebrated at his parish church at Wotton four times a year, although apparently in many churches the monthly Communion then prevailed.

Although Evelyn had no sympathy with the severe and narrow asceticism of the Puritan domination, his *Diary* abundantly testifies his abhorrence of the licence, impiety, and immorality so prevalent after the Restoration. The coarse and blatant immorality of the stage received his strongest denunciation, while such brutal and degrading pastimes as cock fighting, dog fighting, and bull and bear baiting he turned from with loathing as 'butcherly sports and barbarous cruelties.'

Living as he did in times of licence and luxury, of war, violence, and tumult, and through momentous national upheavals and revolutions, Evelyn succeeded in preserving the calm, even course of the sincere and faithful Christian, conscientiously dedicating his considerable talents and abilities in unostentatious service of his country and his fellow men. Probably Horace Walpole correctly summed up his career when he declared that 'his life was a course of inquiry, study, curiosity, instruction, and benevolence. The work of the Creator and the minute labour of the creature were all objects of his pursuit.' The inscription which Evelyn caused to be put on his tomb in Wotton church gives us the true secret of his character and conduct throughout his long and eventful life. 'Living in an age of extraordinary events and revolutions he learnt this truth—that all is vanity which is not honest, and that there is no solid wisdom but in real piety.'

C. SYDNEY CARTER.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. By A. F. Robertson, D.D. Third edition. (Hodder & Stoughton. 42s. net.)

PROF. ROBERTSON'S work was published in 1914, and has had 'to live and do its work in spite of the Great War.' It is therefore something like a triumph to find that a third edition has been called for. It proves, as Dr. Plummer says, that 'scientific grammar is appreciated more widely than one would antecedently have ventured to expect.' It was prepared under a strong conviction that 'no words known to man are comparable in value with those contained in the New Testament.' Dr. Robertson joyfully recognizes that grammar is nothing unless it reveals the thought and emotion hidden in language. 'No toil is too great if by means of it men are enabled to understand more exactly the mind of Christ.' He thinks with pleasure of the preacher or teacher turning afresh under the inspiration of this grammar to his Greek Testament and finding there 'things new and old, the vital message all electric with power for the new age.' The preface to this third edition refers to the loss of Dr. James Moulton. 'His death is an unspeakable calamity, but his work will live, for his *Prolegomena* preserves his interpretation of the New Testament language.' In the new edition there is a detailed table of contents. The index of Greek words has been doubled through the assistance of Mr. H. Scott, of Birkenhead, who has also verified the multitudinous references. Dr. Davies has furnished some striking illustrations from his studies on the lexical aspects of the papyri and the inscriptions. These and other notes appear in an Addenda of 57 pages, of which Mr. Scott's tables are a special feature. Altogether, 150 pages have been added. We are glad to see Mr. Sharp's *Epictetus and the New Testament* described as 'a very helpful monograph full of suggestions.' The grammar has 1,588 pages, but is easy to handle. It is intended for advanced students, and it has been welcomed on all sides. With this and Dr. James Moulton's grammar scholars will be splendidly equipped for fruitful research in the most wonderful of all books.

God and the Struggle for Existence. By the Archbishop of Dublin and others. (Student Christian Movement. 4s. 6d. net.)

Belief in God has been seriously shaken, and at the same time quickened and energized, by the evils and calamities of the last

few years. Religious literature teems at the present moment with books dealing in one fashion or another with the relation between God and the world, the compatibility of a belief in the love and Fatherhood of God with the existence of pain and sin and death. The volume above named contains five chapters, of which the first and last, 'Introductory' and 'The Defeat of Pain,' are by Canon Streeter; the second, on 'Love and Omnipotence' is written by Dr. D'Arcy, Archbishop of Dublin; while Miss Lily Dougall, whose pen on such themes is remarkably active and vigorous, contributes two essays, on 'The Survival of the Fittest' and 'Power, Human and Divine.' To those familiar with the current discussion of these subjects the book does not present much that is new. But the writers deal with themes of immense importance in no conventional or perfunctory fashion, and they present in clear and interesting form the answers which religion gives to-day to some of the perpetually recurring questions of human life.

Archbishop D'Arcy's handling of the dilemma which antagonizes the Love and the Power of God is thorough without being abstruse. Omnipotence means, he says, that 'God's nature is such that things cannot finally go wrong, all opposing wills must and shall be subjugated by the power of supreme love.' But only by the awful path of sacrifice can eternal love win to victory over the opposition of perverse wills, and here is the eternal significance of the Cross of Christ. That is essential Christianity. If it be true, life is not only worth living, its meaning and scope are the most glorious possible. It implies conflict and endurance for the highest conceivable ends, the victory of love which will not let us go and will not let the cause of righteousness go till its high purposes are accomplished. Miss Dougall discusses the meaning of 'the survival of the fittest' by asking whether there is a steady tendency towards good in the processes of biological development as a whole, and in what direction for human development that tendency points. She reaches the conclusion that 'Christianity and evolution teach the same lesson as to what must be the way of progress for humanity, the goal being perfect correspondence with "environment," if that word be understood to mean God the Creator of all, as well as men and all the conditions of human life.' Miss Dougall's other essay, on 'Power—Human and Divine,' excellently supplements that of the Archbishop of Dublin. Canon Streeter pleads that our attitude to the universe depends very largely on ourselves, and that to obtain victory over pain we need as a focal point round which to centre our philosophy of life, one figure—Jesus, Author and Finisher of faith—'Courage victorious and Love triumphant.'

The reasoning which leads up to these characteristically Christian conclusions is candid and helpful. The writers do not defend a mere *parti pris*, they are not conventional apologists. But together they have presented a case which must commend itself to the young men whom the Students' Christian Movement probably has most in view in publishing this volume, and we can heartily commend it to the

wider constituency to whom such a subject appeals. The translation of its principles into action would prove the best of Christian evidences.

A Commentary on the Bible. Edited by Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D. With the assistance for the New Testament of A. J. Grieve, M.A., D.D. (T. C. & E. C. Jack. 10s. 6d. net.)

This Commentary is not intended to be homiletic or devotional, but to put before the reader without technicalities the generally accepted results of Biblical Criticism, Interpretation, History, and Theology. The usual order of the books has been followed, except that Mark is put before Matthew as the earliest Gospel, and Colossians and Philemon follow Ephesians. General articles are introduced to relieve the exposition and give the detailed information essential for serious study of the Bible. The style of exposition varies to some extent but the paragraph rather than the verse has been taken as the unit. Mr. Bedale wrote on 'The Nations Contemporary with Israel,' Mr. Bisseker on The Pastoral Epistles, Dr. Davison on Hebrew Wisdom, Dr. Findlay on Romans, Dr. James Moulton on The Language of the New Testament and on James, Mr. Wilfrid Moulton on The Social Institutions of Israel. Dr. Peake has put immense labour and care into his own contributions and into his heavy work as editor, and Dr. Grieve has laboured in the same spirit, whilst the fifty-nine other contributors have poured their best gifts into this treasury. A hundred and twenty pages of introductory articles are given before the Introduction to the Pentateuch and the general exposition. These articles deal with the Bible: its meaning and aim; the Bible as literature; the Holy Land; the languages, canon, and text of the Old Testament, and kindred subjects. Before each section of the books an introductory article is given, and before the New Testament thirteen introductory articles appear dealing with the language, canon, text, Jewish and Roman history, the life and teaching of Jesus, and the synoptic problem. It will thus be seen that the volume is a dictionary of the Bible as well as a commentary, and we should like to see it on the shelves of every preacher and teacher in the country. It is a marvel of cheapness, with 1,035 double-columned pages and eight full-page maps.

The Army and Religion. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

This is an inquiry into the religious life of the nation as revealed under war conditions. The Y.M.C.A. has borne the entire expense of carrying out the inquiry, though the committee, of which the Bishop of Winchester and Dr. D. S. Cairns were joint conveners, is entirely responsible for the result. A list of topics and questions was sent out asking for information as to what the men were thinking about religious morality and society; the changes made by the war; and the relation of the men to the Churches. The results are presented in two sections: the facts; causes, results, and sugges-

tions. Dr. Talbot's Introduction points out that the war has been a veritable apocalypse of youth, and the various chapters go to the root of the religious and moral problems involved. The men believe in Jesus Christ, though they do not realize what the living Christ may do to enrich their own lives. A great reawakening of the Christian spirit of love and fellowship, of that energy of goodwill and gladness and hope which is the very spirit of Jesus, is needed to make the men see what real Christianity is. The work before the Churches lies largely in the full interpretation of Christ. The strain and the materialistic influence of the war are dwelt upon, but it has produced a new tenderness, and has had a broadening and deepening effect. The head master of Rugby has written the illuminating chapter on 'Education and Religious Teaching,' and other experts have made valuable contributions to a book of the greatest importance and interest.

The Church and the Ministry. By Charles Gore, D.D. New Edition, revised by C. H. Turner, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 18s. net.)

The first edition of this work appeared in 1888, and quickly took rank as the High Church authority on questions of Orders. The subject has gained new importance in view of the proposals for Church Union which are in the air, and Bishop Gore has now been able to issue an edition revised by the chief expert of our time, Mr. C. H. Turner. He has worked through the whole volume, rewriting the portions that bear on the original idea of the Apostolical succession, the early Alexandrian ministry, and Church Orders. He has also revised a good many of the notes, rewriting in part those on the laying on of hands and the Didache, and contributing a note on Canon XIII of Ancyra. The book may now be taken as the most complete and reliable statement of the views held by High Churchmen. It suffers somewhat from the fact that it was originally written before Sohm's and Dr. Lindsay's books on the subject had appeared, but Dr. Gore has given his criticism of their views in his *Orders and Unity*. In the Preface to this edition he refers to Dean Robinson's paper in *Essays in the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*. He thinks that Dr. Robinson underrates the evidence for the existence of an 'order of prophets clothed with an authority only short of apostolic.' He also wishes that Dr. Robinson had not apparently countenanced Lightfoot's statement that the episcopate was formed out of the presbyterate by elevation. The revised edition is one that all students and writers on the subject will find of the utmost importance and not least where they differ from some of its main conclusions.

The Redemption of Religion. By Charles Gardner. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Gardner believes that the higher criticism has a positive value if we can only get at it, and he has set himself to tell the story of

Jesus as thus determined. He holds that 'we need reject nothing that completes our picture of Jesus,' but can 'accept all that is best in modernism without sacrificing anything of our larger Catholic faith.' He has done his work with rare beauty and skill. The Introduction opens with an account of the meeting between Abelard and St. Bernard in 1139. Faith and reason could not then be reconciled, and it was best that the side which Bernard represented should triumph. Mr. Gardner traces some of the great currents of thought in the centuries that followed, and shows that 'history under the searching rays of criticism has given back to us Jesus of Nazareth greater, more human, and more divine than His biographers had imagined.' A survey of the teaching of prophet and apocalyptist leads to a beautiful study of 'The Jesus of Criticism,' constructed mainly from St. Mark with supplemental touches from St. Matthew and St. Luke. It is followed by the New Testament witness to Jesus, and studies of the gospel of the Kingdom and of the person of Christ, His atonement, resurrection and ascension, the Church, eschatology, and eternal life. Mr. Gardner holds that the three great creeds are entirely supported by the New Testament even as pruned by the critics' knife. 'The Christ of experience is the creation of the Jesus of history, and therefore His astounding claim to be the Christ has received the accumulative corroboration of two thousand years.' Mr. Gardner has an arresting style, and his survey of the whole subject is not merely fascinating but eminently reassuring.

Redemption: Hindu and Christian. By Sydney Cave, D.D. (H. Milford. 10s. 6d. net.)

This thesis, approved by the University of London for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, is dedicated to the writer's teachers, Dr. Forsyth and Dr. Garvie, 'in gratitude and honour.' It is an attempt to relate the living forces of Hinduism to the gospel of Jesus Christ. In the first part, the three great Hindu doctrines, karma, bhakti, and redemption are illustrated, and in the second part it is shown that an enlarged interpretation of Christianity is required to answer the aspirations of Hinduism. 'Though Christ indeed is adequate, our Christianity often is not. We need to affirm that, for the Christian, eternal life is a present and indubitable possession. Christianity must be proclaimed as a religion of redemption, not from sin only, but from the world.' In India, Christianity has to face the most incisive criticism and to answer the hardest questions. What right has it to claim to be the absolute religion? Why is it not content to be one among many? A lucid sketch is given of the religion of the Rigveda and the beginning of Brahmanic speculation, of the Upanishads and the Vedanta doctrine of the Bhagavadgita, which is more influential and more loved among the educated Hindus to-day than any book. The first part closes with an account of the bhakti movement, or devotion to the gods. The ecstasy of these Indian saints almost puts us to the blush, and we look forward to

the time when the devotion so lavishly bestowed on them shall be given in full measure to the crucified and perfectly holy Saviour of the world. The second part gives a beautiful account of Christ and His gospel and the apostolic experience. 'The practical counsels of Peter, the ratiocinations of Paul, the lofty intuitions of John, reveal men of very different mental habits and temperament. But their gospel is the same. It is the gospel of a living and all-powerful Saviour whose service to them was joy, though it meant persecution and freedom, though it meant imprisonment. All are alone in seeing in Him the world's final, because perfect, Redeemer, the complete expression of the Father's love and grace.' Only such love of Christ can make in India a nation of a congeries of warring castes. He who knows Christ strives to make Him known to others. That is 'the spontaneous act of a love which would share with others its highest possessions.' The last chapter, on Redemption, shows that this is the deepest and most persistent aspiration of higher Hinduism, and that Christianity is a religion of redemption, not from sin only, but from the world. The book is one that makes special appeal to all who are seeking to win India to the faith of Christ.

From Theosophy to Christian Faith. By E. R. McNeile.
(Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

Bishop Gore recommends this book with great confidence as a study of Theosophy in contrast with Christianity. The writer was drawn to Theosophy in India, but found its hollowness, and gives her first-hand experience of the system. The Great Brotherhood decided about forty years ago that the time had come for a fuller revelation, and made Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott their interpreters. The beliefs as to the nature of God and of man, the doctrine of re-incarnation and karma are explained, and the similarity of the system to second-century Gnosticism is brought out. The surrender of the mind to theosophic influence is usually a very gradual process, but warnings are only too often rejected with scorn. The book is a thoroughly reliable and much-needed exposure of a perilous system.

The Prophets on the Light of To-day, by John G. Hill (Abingdon Press. \$1.25 net), brings out the grandeur of the old Hebrew prophets and their message for our own time. It shows how delightfully fresh and original they were, and will send many to their Bibles with new zest.—*The Individualistic Gospels and other Essays*, by Andrew Gillies (Methodist Book Concern. \$1 net), pleads for a Christian message true to things fundamental and making religion as an inner experience the necessary preliminary to religion as a social force. Mr. Gillies envies the young minister of to-day more than he does anybody else on earth, and he does a great deal to inspire and help him in this fine volume.—*Forgotten Faces*, by G. C. Peck (Methodist Book Concern. \$1.25 net), paints the portraits of less familiar Bible characters—Ishmael, Eleazar, Laban, and others—

in a bright and arresting fashion.—*Social Evolution and the Development of Religion*, by Carl K. Mahoney (Methodist Book Concern. \$1 net), tries to show the basic principles for the new social life of the world, and suggests the way in which the Church may help to keep the world sane and guide it into settled peace. It is a book that will repay study.—*The Opinions of R. H. Brown*. Edited by his amanuensis, P. Addison Devis. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) 'R. H. Brown' knows how to provoke thought, and his essays deal with subjects which lend themselves to discussion. 'Half-Timers' are everywhere, and the appeal to them is opportune: 'Amongst the reasons for the present impotence of the ministry and the weakness in the Churches is the prevalence of the half-time system. Let us sweep it away.' Pulpit and pew both get a word in season, and the gravest questions are handled fearlessly. Mr. Devis would be the last to expect all the opinions here expressed to pass unchallenged, but he will stir up minds that slumber and will do something to bring back the art of 'being offensive,' by which our fathers won their victories. He sets things in a fresh light, and has the faculty of arresting attention and making one think.—*Sermons on Several Occasions*. By John Wesley, A.M. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.) Wesley's Model Deed refers to his first four volumes of Sermons, which, together with his Notes on the New Testament, are to form the standard of Methodist teaching. It was long thought that fifty-three sermons were thus referred to, but the late Rev. Richard Green proved that the four volumes contained only forty-four, and, after taking counsel's opinion, the Conference of 1914 decided that the number was forty-four. They are now printed in one compact volume with the well-known Preface which Wesley wrote for the first volume, published in 1746. Important sermons have had to be left outside the standard sermons as thus determined, but it is in every way an advantage to have the real contents of 'the first four volumes' thus brought together, with a workmanlike Note showing in which of the four volumes each sermon appeared.—*The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*. (Pirke Aboth.) Translated from the Hebrew by W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) This is the oldest collection of the sayings of Jewish sages in post-Biblical times, and gives an insight into the general mental outlook and method of expression of the early synagogue, which throws much light on the New Testament. Dr. Oesterley shows how many words and expressions are common to this tractate and to the New Testament, and gives an interesting account of the most important among the authors of the sayings. There is much that tempts quotation. 'Rabbi Joshua said: An evil eye, and the evil tendency, and hatred of mankind, drive a man out of the world.' Jehuda ben Tema said: 'Be strong as a leopard, and swift as an eagle, and fleet as a hart, and courageous as a lion, to do the will of thy Father which is in heaven.' It is a most interesting volume.—*The Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity*. By Herbert Moore, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 6s. net.) Novatian was the founder of the Puritans of the third

century, who declined to readmit to the Church those who had lapsed in time of persecution. He is said to have suffered martyrdom in 257. His treatise *On the Trinity* struggles 'to express thoughts for which the language at his command was not sufficient.' Sometimes he comes dangerously near to heresy, but his work is valuable in showing the development of Christian thought on the subject. Mr. Thackeray's translation is clear and reads well.—*Jewish Documents of the time of Ezra*. Translated from the Aramaic. By A. Cowley. (S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d. net.) The papyri here translated were found between 1898 and 1908, and cover nearly the whole of the fifth century B.C. They emanate from a hitherto unknown Jewish colony in the south of Egypt. They had a temple where burnt sacrifice was offered to Yahu. The documents are contracts for supplying corn to the garrison, grants, conveyances, lists of contributors to the temple funds. The fragments of the story of Ahikar are of special interest, and so is the learned introduction to the documents.—*The Eucharistic Office of the Book of Common Prayer*. By Leslie Wright, M.A., B.D. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) Several years of study have been given to this little book, and they have not been wasted. It is the most complete and instructive treatment of the subject that we know in small compass, and will well repay careful attention. The Gloria in Excelsis is a purely Roman element which originally followed the Kyries. It is a version of an ancient Greek hymn which goes back in one form or another possibly to the first century. It was probably brought to the West by Hilary of Poitiers in the fourth century.—*The Divinity of Christ*. By Vernon F. Storr, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. net). Canon Storr, in this very helpful study, shows the special reasons why the problem of Christ's Person should be reconsidered. We need a reassertion of the truth of divine transcendence, and this will show that there is nothing irrational in the traditional Christology. The two natures are 'not distinguishably two, but indivisibly one. There is one nature of the Christ, a human nature so perfectly indwelt by God that you cannot mark off where the human ends and the divine begins.'—*Difficulties in Christianity*. (Murray. 1s. net.) A letter to a layman by a veteran of ninety-two, who dwells on the good that Christianity has done in the world and the influence of the Incarnation.—*Our Methodist Heritage*, by J. Arundel Chapman, M.A.; *Our Catholic Heritage*, by K. Harley Boyns (Epworth Press. 2d. each), are written by young ministers, and ought to be in the hands of all young Methodists. Mr. Chapman shows how sorely the world needs such a religion as our fathers spread abroad, and finds here a pledge of future influence. Mr. Boyns claims a heritage in the glorious past of Christianity and in its means of grace. Both are full of hope and high purpose.—*The Vow of Ruth and Other Sermons*. By William Wakinshaw. (Epworth Press. 4s. net.) A very good volume of sermons. They are clear and well arranged, skilfully illustrated, and are always direct and practical. The subjects are well chosen, and the preacher sticks to his text.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The Last Four Months : The End of the War in the West.
By Major-General Sir F. D. Maurice, K.C.M.G., C.B.
(Cassell & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

THIS study of Foch's great campaign sets out in due proportion the parts that went to make up the whole. Sir F. Maurice believes that the splendour of the achievements of our army is enhanced when they are given their proper place in the frame. He has collected the best information available as to the intentions, aims, and feelings of the enemy, from captured documents or publications in Germany. 1917 was a year of disappointment for the Allies in Europe. It was not till the Germans struck their tremendous blow in March, 1918, that General Foch was empowered to co-ordinate the action of the allied armies on the Western Front. The defeat of General Gough was due to the overwhelming strength of the Germans, who hurled forty divisions against the fourteen divisions and three cavalry divisions of the Fifth Army. During those terrible weeks of spring one crisis had hardly passed before another arose. Had the Government taken in time the measures urged upon them, both Gough and Byng might have had sufficient men to resist all attacks, whilst Haig's reserves might have been increased by at least two divisions. In the first weeks of the war, Foch showed that he was as good in practice as in theory. After his appointment to the supreme command his mastery of his craft became manifest. He inspired others with his own fierce energy, and in ten days brought to the battle twice as many troops as had been estimated for by the French staff. When the Germans got within forty miles of Paris and also of Calais and Boulogne, Foch had some terribly anxious moments, but by the middle of June the danger of a crushing German victory was daily growing smaller. The advent of the Americans gave Foch the men he needed, the vast output of the munition factories gave him the material, the marked improvement in the tanks afforded means for carrying through his scheme. When Armageddon came, Foch and Pershing decided to proceed with the attack as quickly as possible, though it involved serious losses. Had they not done so the war could not have ended in 1918. It is a thrilling story, and all the Allies will feel under deep obligation to the military expert who has lighted up the difficult operations which gave General Foch his never-to-be forgotten triumph.

A Private in the Guards. By Stephen Graham. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.)

Mr. Graham has written no book of deeper significance or more acute interest than this. Few men could have felt the change

from civilian life to military discipline more keenly than he, and as we read his pages we seem to share his experiences. His first sentence grips us. 'The sterner the discipline, the better the soldier, the better the army.' Only men who have been taught not to surrender will fight to the last so that others may march into safety. Mr. Graham says the enforcement of this discipline is often more terrible than the ordeal by battle itself. The task of handling well-disciplined men at the front is child's play compared with the task of breaking them in from civilized happiness and culture. The officers demand discipline, the non-commissioned officers enforce it. That arresting chapter prepares us to enter 'Little Sparta barracks' at Caterham, where the discipline of the Guards is taught to recruits. The portraits of the drill sergeants are not attractive; nor was the atmosphere of the barrack-room elevating. Mr. Graham thinks that the best part of the training was the bayonet-fighting, 'in which for a moment one did feel some glamour of the barbaric nobility of war.' 'Soldier and civilian' shows vividly the double life which Mr. Graham lived in Wellington barracks, and in the hours when he was able to slip back to home and society. 'Esprit de Corps' shows how fear and punishment may be got rid of in the Army by a large national *esprit de corps*. After this account of the training we see the men leave for the front tense with emotion. Mr. Graham was asked to edit the battalion records and supplement them by stories of the fighting gleaned from the men. At one point in 1917 'it was touch and go' with British discipline, but the Spartan training of the Guards stopped the rot at Gouzeaucourt. The accumulation of battles and sufferings produced a kind of spiritual atmosphere. Many vivid pictures are drawn of experiences among the dead and wounded, of the great advance in the summer of 1918, and of the march to the Rhine. Christmas found them in Cologne, and Mr. Graham grows reflective. The hardest thing for the nations 'has been to hear the drum-beat of Christianity, and whether they have heard it is not certain; the self-sacrifice, the long process of learning to fall into line, to march in step together.' Some men in the Army showed that *esprit de corps* on which a new Army, a new Nation, and a new Humanity could be built.

Edward Wyndham Tennant: A Memoir. By his Mother, Pamela Glenconner. With Portraits in Photo-gravure. (John Lane. 21s. net.)

Mother and son were never united by more tender links of love and fellowship than those revealed in this book. It is intimate throughout. Little details heighten the effect, and almost admit us into the family circle. Lady Glenconner has sought to comfort others who have suffered the like loss in the great war, and her book will help to bind up many broken hearts. Edward Tennant, the Bim of the biography, was born in 1897 and was shot by a German sniper on September 22, 1916. He was the youngest Wykehamist to join the

forces in August, 1914, and won the love and confidence of his men in an extraordinary degree. A private wrote: 'When danger was greatest his smile was loveliest.' Another bore witness: 'He was the life and soul of everything. How we believed in him! Fun or danger, it was all the same to him.' A more charming little fellow in his childhood we have never read of, and the charm never vanished. Bim was specially dear to his uncle, George Wyndham, for whom he cherished a kind of hero-worship. They had kindred tastes, and the uncle was delighted with the boy's gifts as a poet. Bim was a lovely mixture of schoolboy and Christian. At the age of eleven he writes from his preparatory school: 'Christmas getting closer and closer. The joy of putting up one's stocking, and being so near to the anniversary of the birth of the Redeemer of the world!' From France in August, 1915, he told his mother, 'I wouldn't be anywhere else but here, for the world, darling Moth. I am on the high-road of my life! and any deviation therefrom would break my heart!' He prayed morning and evening, and says, 'My captain is very devout, and we always pray at the same time, on our knees.' In another letter he writes, 'I have the feeling of immortality very strongly. I think of death with a light heart, and as a friend whom there is no need to fear.' It is a touching record of a life without a stain; overflowing with energy and love of everything that was pure and beautiful. His whole heart was in the war. He hoped to live to be a poet some day, for he felt the faculty within him, and no one who reads his poetry in this volume can fail to feel its beauty and its freshness. His ballad poetry has special force and verve.

More Literary Recollections. By Sir Edward Cook. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

These papers are meant for those who love to saunter in a library, and they will be as welcome as the earlier volume given us by one to whom we all wish to pay a debt. One question raised in that volume, 'Which is the worst line in poetry?' is enlarged upon in the Preface in a lively fashion. The first of the eight essays is headed 'Travelling Companions.' That is a sharp test for a book. Once, greatly daring, the author asked Sir John Lubbock if he could lay his hand on his heart and say that he had read the whole hundred of his list. He said that he could, and added that he had found much time for reading while waiting for trains at his station. Stanley gave Sir Edward some interesting particulars of the books he took with him in the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. 'The Classics in Daily Life' is full of good things; 'A Ramble in Pliny's Letters' is a charming introduction to the Roman statesman; the art of editing applies to books, and its two essentials are to be interesting and to be helpful; 'Poets as Critics'; 'A Short Study in Words'; 'Single-poem Poets,' and 'The Charm of the Greek Anthology,' have their own charm. It is a book that many will judge worthy to be a 'travelling companion.'

English Men of Letters: Ben Jonson. By G. Gregory Smith. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. net.)

Prof. Smith says we know more of Jonson than of any of the chief writers of his age. There are no great mysteries in his literary career, and his personality stands forth fresh and convincing beside the blurred portrait of Marlowe, or Shakespeare, or Fletcher. Posterity has turned rather coldly from his virtues of honesty and self-reliance to his faults of harshness, pugnacity, and egotism. Two chapters on his early life, middle life and close are followed by a brief study of his literary conscience. 'Drama is his fighting engine, his laboratory, his confessional.' He allowed his criticism to assume an exaggerated importance and to involve him in long-drawn and angry debate. Chapters are given to the comedies, the masques, the tragedies, the poems, *spolia opima*, and the final chapter is a discriminating estimate of his influence. Many acknowledged him as the master-force of his age, but others 'commended him less for offering a new literary gospel, whether by counsel or in his practice, than for confirming them in the process of change to which they were half-consciously committed. He was, at any rate, the first to attempt the "literary" portrait in English.' This is a very welcome addition to the *English Men of Letters*.

A Popular History of the Great War. By John G. Rowe. (Epworth Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

It is no small feat to have compressed the story of four years' fighting by sea and land and air into one compact volume without allowing the interest to flag or the record to become a mere catalogue of events. Mr. Rowe appears to have missed nothing, and he has made such events as the retreat from Mons, the landing at Gallipoli, the air-raids, and the submarine war stand out vividly from his crowded canvas. The battles of the Falkland Islands and of Jutland are described with much spirit, and the war on the Russian Front, in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Italy is described in a way that helps a reader to follow the whole course of the fighting. The critical events of the spring of 1918, and the gradual turning of the tide of victory for the Allies are clearly and impressively set forth, and full particulars are given of the peace conditions imposed on Germany. The maps given as end papers are just what a reader wants, and the book deserves a place of honour in every household as a record of the greatest perils and triumphs of our empire.

Three Brothers. By A. W. H. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) Mr. Harrison was very closely linked with these three noble brothers who laid down their lives in the Great War, and he has given us a threefold picture which will have its place of honour in the gallery of Methodist heroes. They came from a home where mirth was joined with high conceptions of duty. Sport, religion, politics, and personalities were mixed together in their eager talk.

Three brothers and a sister were Sunday-school teachers; the mother and Ralph were both lay preachers. The eldest brother was a daring huntsman, captain of the Bristol Ariel Rowing Club; Ralph was also a sportsman and a rising young solicitor; Gilbert began his work as a medical student at Birmingham in 1914. All three lie buried in France, but their names will never cease to be fragrant as long as this golden record is known and read.—*The Importance of Women in Anglo-Saxon Times, and other Addresses.* By the Right Rev. G. F. Browne, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.) It is a real pleasure to get such a set of papers from Bishop Browne. He describes the high place which women held in the conversion of pagan kings and kingdoms to Christianity, and the zeal which queens and princesses showed in the religious education of their people. Hilda of Whitby was the head of a famous double monastery, and two pairs of royal sisters were at the head of the Abbey of Castor in Mercia and that of Wimborne in Wessex. The Cultus of St. Peter and St. Paul; the Early Connexion between the Churches of Britain and Ireland; the See of Crediton, and the Life and Work of Erasmus are the subjects of the other addresses, and from each there is a great deal to be learned and learned in the most delightful manner.—Messrs. Nelson's 'Edinburgh Library of Non-Fiction Books' (2s. 6d. net) looks very attractive with its picture jackets, deep-red cloth covers, and bold type. *The Watchers of the Trails*, by C. G. D. Roberts, is a series of studies of animal life, which have their own fascination. The fight between the lynx and the wild cat is thrilling. *In the Country of Jesus* is a translation of Matilda Sarao's beautiful record, which passed through thirty editions in two years. It gives the vivid personal impressions of a devout Italian Catholic. *With Kitchener to Khartum*, by G. W. Stevens, is a well-known masterpiece. It is the story of a campaign which made Lord Kitchener's reputation as a great soldier, and saved the Sudan from barbarism. It is a great drama, ending with the funeral of Gordon in Khartum.—The Abingdon Press of New York is publishing some books of special interest. *George Washington the Christian* (\$1.50 net) gives prayers written by the first President of the United States and notes from his diary showing how he spent Sunday. It is a book that many will want to have on their shelves.—*Thomas Corwin Iliff* (\$1 net) was the Apostle of Home Missions in the Rocky Mountains. He did memorable work in the territory of Utah, and his lecture on 'Mormonism a menace to the State' is based on personal experience in Salt Lake City.—*Granville* (\$1.25 net) was a fine American airman who died in his twenty-second year. His letters and diary give a unique account of an airman's life. The doctors would not allow him to serve in France, but he had a hero's heart.—*Star Dust from the Dug-Outs* (\$1.50 net) describes religious work among American soldiers in France. The men loved a straight gospel sermon, and one lad said after reading about Jesus: 'That feller Christ that I read about in this book; all I gotta say is I'm for him.'—*Submarine Warfare of To-day*. By Charles W. Domville Fife. With 53 illustra-

tions. (Seeley, Service & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) During the war, the writer served as lieutenant in the School of Submarine Mining. He began to take an active interest in submarines so far back as 1904. Now that the censorship has ceased he is able to reveal many secrets of the service, and has given us a detailed view of the Navy and its work in the war, which is of extraordinary interest. He describes the hydrophone and the depth charge, explains the mysteries of mine-laying and mine-sweeping, the training of men, and the way in which they did their work. Boys will find this a book after their own hearts, and it will help many to understand the ceaseless vigilance and the constant peril of the anti-submarine campaign. It is splendidly illustrated.—*Things seen in London*. By A. H. Blake, M.A., F.R.H.S. With many illustrations. (Seeley, Service & Co. 3s. net.) This little book opens with a chapter on 'The Greatness of London.' All that one can do is to gain some general conception of it, and then specialize on some particular subject or locality. The heart of London is in the curious angle made by the Thames at Charing Cross. That gives Mr. Blake fine material for his second chapter. Thence he moves on to the City and East End, the greenness of London, its historic houses, the life of the streets, by the river, and London by night. It is a moving panorama which Londoners will find full of living interest. The illustrations are specially attractive.—*The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers re-told to the Children*. By H. G. Tunnicliff, B.A. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) It is three centuries since the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth. The story of their voyage and their settlement in America is here told in a vivid and picturesque way that will greatly interest young readers on both sides of the Atlantic.—*Selections from Josephus*. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) The Introduction deals with the life and works of the Jewish historian in a most interesting way, and the selections have been well chosen. Mr. Thackeray does not regard the passage about Christ as genuine. Some useful notes and an appendix giving fuller treatment to points of special importance complete this very useful text-book.—*An Introduction to the History of American Diplomacy*. By C. R. Fish, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 1s. net.) We have not seen any description of the diplomacy of the United States so complete as this. It begins with Pre-Revolutionary Diplomacy, and comes down to the entrance of the United States into the Great War. Full accounts are given of the works available for fuller study. It is a very important book packed into small compass.—*China Looking West*. By F. Hughes-Hallett. (C.M.S. 1s. net.) This is a missionary study text-book full of information as to the land, the people, the religious thought and missionary work in China. It is well illustrated, and will be of great service to students.

GENERAL

Outspoken Essays. By W. R. Inge, C.V.O., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.)

THESE Essays attracted much attention when they first appeared, and many will be glad to have them gathered together in this neat volume. They were written at various times before and during the Great War, but Dean Inge finds little in them that he wishes to alter. He shows in the new essay on 'Our present discontents' that one cause of the war was that 'an emperor ruling by divine right was the head of the most scientific State that the world has seen.' Its 'whole structure was menaced by that form of individualistic materialism which calls itself social democracy.' The main items in the charge against democracy are clearly brought out, and Dr. Inge suggests that there is a remedy within the reach of all if we would only try. That is the Christian religion, which gives a new standard of qualitative values. 'Spiritual goods are unlimited in amount; they are increased by being shared, and we rob nobody by taking them.' Many will demur to Dr. Inge's verdict that miracles must be 'relegated to the sphere of pious opinion.' He thinks that the Christian revelation can stand without them. The essays are well described as 'outspoken.' Those on the Birth Rate and on the Future of the English Race have been much discussed, and that on 'Cardinal Newman' is of peculiar interest. Dr. Inge thinks that the Roman Catholicism which has a future is probably that of Manning, and not that of Newman. It has been the strange fate of this great man, after driving a wedge deep into the Anglican Church, which at this day is threatened with disruption through the movement which he helped to originate, to have nearly succeeded in doing the same to the far more compact structure of Roman Catholicism. The Modernist movement has, from the first, appealed to Newman as its founder, and has sought to protect itself under his authority.

Cassell's New English Dictionary: With an Appendix.
 Edited by Ernest W. Baker, M.A., D.Lit. (Cassell & Co. 6s. net.)

This Dictionary sets itself to deal with the written and spoken language of to-day and the obsolete terms likely to be found in the best-read authors from Shakespeare to Milton. That means dealing with over a hundred and twenty thousand words and phrases. The proximate and remote origin of words is indicated, there is a simple scheme of pronunciation, and in case of two or more pronunciations the one recommended for use is placed first. The type is clear, and an immense mass of material is packed into more than 1,800 double columned pages. Three Appendices give translations of foreign

words and phrases, pronunciations of foreign and English places and persons, and abbreviations in general use. The book was passed for press a few months after the outbreak of war, but publication was then impossible. That has led to a special supplement of words and expressions that have come into being since August, 1914. This fills twenty pages and is in itself a reason for adopting the Dictionary at once as a daily guide. Dr. Baker has produced a work which is wonderfully compact and reliable.

The Mystical Poets of the English Church. By Percy H. Osmond. (S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d. net.)

This book is in some sense an anthology. It begins with the Pre-Reformation poets and comes down from Spenser, Giles and Phineas Fletcher, Herbert, Quarles, Vaughan, and Blake to Coventry Patmore, Emily Brontë, Christina Rossetti, Francis Thompson, and Evelyn Underhill. The sketches of the poets and descriptions of their poems are illustrated by extended quotations which make delightful reading. Many names are beautifully familiar, others will be new to many readers. John Pordage, rector of Bradfield, Wilts, professed to have had the truth of Jacob Boehme's theosophy supernaturally revealed to him. 'After surviving several charges of Pantheism and of holding intercourse with evil spirits, he was ejected for alleged ignorance and incapacity, and practised as a physician.' With Jane Leade, he formed the Philadelphian Society, 'a coterie of some twenty ghost-seers,' and 'despite much ridicule and misrepresentation, he retained to the last a name for genuine devoutness and unblemished purity of life.' He wrote a poem to elucidate the mysteries of the three worlds. The book will be very attractive to all students of mystical poetry. Mr. Osmond ends his task 'by thanking God that there are such possibilities in our human nature as mysticism reveals.'

The Teaching of the Qur'an. By H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, Ph.D., D.D. (S.P.C.K. 7s. net.)

Dr. Stanton's object has been to present the teachings of the Qur'an as drawn from the book itself, apart from the traditions of Islam which form the second basis of the faith. The utterances of the book extend over twenty-one years, during which immense changes took place in the inner and outer experience of Mohammed, which affected the manner of his teaching and to some extent its matter. Dr. Stanton shows how the text was preserved, and how the book was divided into surahs. He then sketches the life of Mohammed and the spread of the faith. The teaching is classified under the following heads: God, Revelation, Judgement, Sin, Salvation, and the Law of Life. A supplement is added on the relation of the teaching to that of other faiths. The teaching of God overshadows all else in the Qur'an, as it does in the daily life of the Mohammedan. There is little in the account of the divine attributes 'which is not a reflec-

tion of the teaching of the Old Testament, in its Talmudic form.' The climax and perfection of the prophetic office is manifested in Mohammad, though he is a mortal man like his hearers. The section on the attitude of other faiths is brief but full of interest. 'The divine incarnation in Jesus the Christ is utterly rejected, and the historical fact of His death, carrying the implication of His atonement and resurrection, is denied.' The claim of Jesus to be the Saviour and Judge of the world is set aside. The Holy Spirit appears only as an angel, and the Trinity of the Godhead is misunderstood and repudiated.

Birds in Town and Village. By W. H. Hudson. With pictures in Colours by E. J. Detmold. (Dent & Sons. 10s. 6d. net.)

In 1899 Mr. Hudson published *Birds in a Village*. It was his first book about bird life in England, and he has now largely rewritten the first part, adding some fresh matter, and has substituted an entirely new part—'Birds in a Cornish Village' for the last portion of the original volume. It is a delightful book. Mr. Hudson takes us into a Berkshire village where he heard the nightingales sing and saw them bring up their brood. He makes us familiar with the jay, and gives many pleasant glimpses of friends that he made in a naturalist's rambles. His Cornish studies in 1915 and 1916 were pursued under the disability of ill-health. He was greatly impressed at 'the perpetual state of hunger' in which rooks, daws, and starlings existed in the winter. The jackdaws greatly interested him. No one would think of shooting them. The bird is troublesome enough, but he ranks as the favourite pet and appears more capable of affection than other birds. The book has some choice illustrations, and is written with rare insight and sympathy into bird life.

The Coming of Cuculain; In the Gates of the North; The Triumph and the Passing of Cuculain. By Standish O'Grady. (Dublin: The Talbot Press. 4s. 6d. net each.)

These three volumes give the most vivid parts of Mr. O'Grady's *Bardic History of Ireland*, which formed the starting-point for the Celtic Renaissance. He wove together the early tales of Ulster's heroes, put new life into the record of their exploits, and showed the powers of druids and evil spirits which were so real to those fierce warriors. Cuculain is the Galahad of the epic. His boyhood, his training at his uncle's court, his first deeds of prowess set one's pulses beating. The way in which he is knighted and armed, his capture of his glorious horses and his victory over the mighty sorcerers of Dun-Mic-Nectan, make a succession of wonders. The fierce battle between the Ultonians and the provinces of the south is almost lost by the spells woven around the giants of the Red Branch. Cuculain holds the enemy at bay by a series of single combats till he is sorely

wounded, and Queen Meave's warriors sweep all before them. Then the spell is broken, and the Ultonians drive the foes back in wild disorder. Cuculain's love for his wife and two children, his steadfast friendship with his charioteer Laeg, and the way in which the gods of Erin are beaten by the magicians of the Clan Callitin, who compass the destruction of master and man, make up a series of thrilling adventures. Bold type, neat binding, and frontispiece illustrations add to the attractions of this edition of Mr. O'Grady's stories. We shall eagerly await other volumes which are to follow.

Irish Impressions. By G. K. Chesterton. (Collins. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Chesterton gets firm hold of his readers' attention the moment he sets foot in Ireland, and he never loses it. He finds that the people are 'rooted in the habit of private property and now ripening into a considerable private property.' The country is not going to be really ruled by Socialists, nor by Englishmen. Merchants cannot rule peasants. Mr. Chesterton says we made a great mistake in the methods we employed to recruit a big levy of soldiers from Ireland. Recruiting began well and the sight of some representative Belgian priests and nuns might have produced something like a crusade, but we blundered badly. 'Whether or no we were as black as we were painted, we actually painted ourselves much blacker than we were.' 'Irish conscription was a piece of rank raving madness.' Sinn Fein failed to realize that Ireland was a nation and could not be indifferent to the fate of civilization in the great war. It is a book that really lights up the problems of Ireland and gives hope of their happy solution.

Cousin Philip. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Collins. 7s. net). Lord Buntingford and the brilliant but wilful Helena to whom he is guardian begin by a sharp quarrel as to one of the girl's friends. She is beaten and has the grace by and by to apologize, but it is her skill as chauffeur, gained during war service, that puts her guardian to the blush and brings the girl herself to a calmer mind. She is beset by lovers, and manages to make the right choice. Cousin Philip pays heavily for his unhappy marriage, but he also gets into smooth water at last. The little descriptions of scenery are beautiful, and the quiet little chaperone is an attractive figure in a delightful story.—*The Old Madhouse.* By William De Morgan. (Heinemann. 7s. net). Mr. De Morgan left this novel unfinished, but before he laid down his pen the story had shaped itself and only needed an additional chapter which his wife has been able to supply from what he told her the ending of the book was to be. The strange title comes from the private asylum which was standing empty when Fred Carteret fell in love with it. The place proved fatal to his guardian, who undertook a tour of inspection, and Fred himself makes shipwreck of his reputation through his infatuation for his friend's lovely but unprincipled wife. Mrs. Carteret does her utmost to save her

son from his foolish attachment, and she and Nancy Fraser are a pair of characters that it is an honour to any author to have created. When Mr. De Morgan began a novel he allowed the puppets in the show to act out their own plot till they became living personalities. They do not reach that stage without many a quaint aside, but we are well content to leave ourselves in the hands of a master who is full of sympathy with every phase of human nature and kindles a kindred interest in his readers. He blossomed late, but bore a golden harvest which will long refresh his readers and make them count themselves his friends.—*The Great House*. By Stanley J. Weyman. (Murray. 7s. net.) It is a matter for sincere congratulation that Mr. Weyman has broken his long silence and has given us another of his refreshing stories. It is one of his English tales, though it opens in Paris. It belongs to the days of Peel's abolition of the Corn Laws, and gives some vivid sketches of the angry political strife of those times. But the chief interest lies in Lord Audley's lawsuit and the development of his character. He outshines his homely rival, but Peter Basset proves himself at last the better man, and every reader will rejoice over his marriage. It is a delightful story, with enough excitement to hold one's attention tightly, but with a quiet beauty all its own.—*Circuits*. By Philip Camborne. (Methuen & Co. 6s. net.) Mark Frazer and his family greatly attract us. They move from the south of England after an orgy of packing to a Lancashire circuit, where kindness is lavished on them. The love affairs of the family are engrossing, and there are some fine studies of character. The book is written with insight and sympathy, and shows what extraordinary variety of experience falls to the lot of a Methodist preacher. The author is to be congratulated on a story full of good things.—*The Chronicle of an Old Town*, by A. B. Cunningham (Abingdon Press. \$1.50 net), describes Dr. Morgenthal's country charge and the happy marriage of his daughter. The town Methodists turned him adrift because he was getting old, but it proved a blessing in disguise. It is a book that warms one's heart to the village folk and the family at the manse.—*The Lost Echo*. By James Green, A.I.F. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) Colonel Green knows the Australian Bush, and his story is full of adventure and of insight into character. The way in which Macguire gets back the strayed bullocks is splendid, and the police sergeant's arrest of three murderers is almost past belief.—*The Sunday at Home, 1918-19*. (Religious Tract Society. 13s. 6d. net.) This is a volume of good things. Miss Bone supplies a charming serial, and there are many short stories and pleasant articles on subjects of living interest, such as the League of Nations. The Rev. W. L. Watkinson's papers are arresting and the editor's pages have point and variety. The full-page illustrations, portraits of celebrities and other pictures combine to make this a fascinating volume.

The Uttermost Star, and other Gleams of Fancy. By F. W. Boreham. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.) The writer has done nothing

better than this eighth volume of his delightful essays. He reads wisely and well, but he uses his eyes also, and each of the twenty-five papers captures one's fancy and opens up some charming fields of thought. It is all so human as well as literary, and it never fails to make the highest and best things wear a more inviting face. 'The Doctor's Conversion' tells how the minister who once set the whole town in a ferment by his militant aggressiveness became an apostle of gentleness and goodwill. It is a book full of insight and fine feeling.—*Spiritism in the Light of the Faith*. By Rev. T. J. Hardy, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 3s. net.) Spiritism in its belief in immortality, its protest against materialism and the sufficiency of the sense-life, may be regarded as an aid to faith, but Mr. Hardy agrees with a Spiritist author of wide repute that 'a Christian cannot be a spiritist without repudiating his Christianity.' He contrasts the Christian doctrine of personality with the shadowy idea of 'survival,' and shows that Spiritism offers a doubtful and precarious intercourse with the departed. We must not thrust ourselves by mediumistic intercourse upon those who are in the hand of God. It is a forcible and much needed critique.—*Spiritualism: A Personal Experience and a Warning*. By Coulson Kernahan. (R.T.S. 1s. net.) Mr. Kernahan once went to a spiritualistic séance with his father, where he was told by the medium that he had extraordinary mediumistic powers. Then from the other end of the room he was earnestly warned never to take part in spiritualistic matters again. He never forgot that warning. That was his first and last séance. He points out the barrenness and peril of spiritualism in a forcible way, and has some interesting pages on telepathy. It is emphatically a word for the times.—*The Vital Choice: Endor or Calvary*. By Lieut.-Col. D. Forster. (Morgan & Scott. 2s. net.) This reply to Sir A. Conan Doyle's *New Revelation* is marked by insight and good sense. It shows clearly that the evidence alleged in favour of the new revelation does not really support the conclusions usually claimed. We cannot accept its teachings unless we are prepared to surrender those parts of Christianity which make it the only religion which can satisfy the human heart.—*The Abingdon Press send us Bolshevism and Social Revolt*. By Daniel Dorchester, Jr. (75 cents. net.) Its publication is opportune. Bolshevism is described as Czarism in a depraved form, which has strangled freedom by means of the army corrupted by German gold.—*Daybreak Everywhere*, by C. E. Locke (\$1.25 net), has a cheering message from one who sees the ideals of a new and better day rising everywhere. Dr. Locke should revise the sentence on p. 70, where he says that Savonarola was 'burned at the stake after he had first been strangled by Pope Alexander VI,' and Nelson did not shout but signalled to his men. *The Poet of Science and other Addresses*, by W. N. Rice (\$1.25 net), is an interpretation of the religious significance of the modern scientific movement. There is a very informing address on Methodism in New England.—*Name this Flower*. By Gaston Bonnier. (Dent & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.) The Professor of Botany at the Sor-

bonne has arranged a 'simple way' for finding out the names of plants without troubling about their classification and without any previous knowledge of botany. It begins with the question—has the plant flowers, or has it not? and proceeds by such steps till the name of the plant is reached. It is an ingenious and helpful device. Various examples are given of the method. There is an index to English botanical names and to popular names, with reference to the page at which a full description of each is given. There are 372 coloured drawings of great skill and exactness and 2,797 other figures. The book can easily be slipped into the pocket. It will be a great treasure to all lovers of flowers.—*Twelve Nature Studies for the Children*. By J. H. Crabtree. (Epworth Press. 2s. net.) A first-rate book on wasps, flies, tadpoles, newts, earthworms, with capital illustrations. It is brimful of interest.—*A Corner-Stone of Reconstruction*. By Four Chaplains to the Forces. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.) This is a valuable guide for those who are seeking to promote social purity. Its moral standard is expressed in the sentence: 'Absolute chastity before marriage, and absolute fidelity after it.' The four chaplains give lectures delivered to soldiers which deal with the moral and physical perils in a way that is bound to make an impression. The Rev. J. Clark Gibson is one of the four chaplains.—*O Hana San: A Girl of Japan*. By Constance C. A. Hutchinson. (C.M.S. 2s. net). A pretty story of a Japanese girl's conversion and work for Christ. It gives a pleasant account of daily life in Japan, and is illustrated by dainty coloured pictures and etchings attached to the pages. It is a book that young folk will love.—*The Kiddies' Annual* (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d. net) is one of the most attractive volumes for small people that we know. Its pictures are as good as its stories and short papers. There is much variety and every item is full of interest.—*Four Bible Stories for the Nursery* (Epworth Press. 10d. each) will have a warm welcome. They are beautifully illustrated with full-page pictures in colours and in black and white, and are told in a way that will arrest attention and make a child understand not a little about the life of Abraham and Joseph, the childhood of Jesus and His wonderful works. They have been prepared with much taste and skill.—*The Redcaps' Annual*. (Epworth Press. 4s. net.) It is refreshing to find the favourite rhymes of one's childhood presented in such attractive style to the small folk of to-day. They all seem to be here, and are illustrated in colours and in black and white in the most ingenious way. The end pieces also are covered with quaint pictures. The book is full of delights from beginning to end.—*Songs of Sussex*. By F. W. Orde Ward. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net.) This is the work of a true poet who glorifies the county that he loves. 'Sussex-born and Sussex-bred,' Mr. Ward lingers over its beauty of cliff and down, its wealth of flowers and birds, the stubborn strength of its men, and its women whose 'beauty is born of the flower and thorn, like a heaven that over-spills.' It is real poetry, with love and melody in every line.—*The Heart of a Mystic: Poems*. By W. R. Hall. (Elkin Mathews.

3s. 6d.). Mr. Hall is a true poet, and there is insight as well as melody in his work. It is a little collection that will appeal to all who love poetry with a touch of mysticism.—*Suggestions on Health and Healing*. (S.P.C.K. 4d. net.) The writer does not deny the existence of disease as the Christian Scientists do, but holds that we possess the power to overcome it. That is true in part only, but the booklet is suggestive and some may gain help from its pages.—*W. L. Watkinson Calendar for 1920*. (Epworth Press. 1s. 6d. net, in book form 2s. 6d. net.) This is a valuable addition to our set of calendars. Noble thoughts are wedded to unforgettable words, and each day of the year has its golden saying. The wisdom and insight of half a century's study of life seem focused in these apt quotations from his writings.—*Rebuilding on the Rock*. The popular report of the British and Foreign Bible Society is full of interesting details as to the work of colporteurs and Bible women in many fields. In twelve months, 2,950,000 scriptures, mainly gospels, were sold in China. It is always a pleasure to see this report, and it was never more full of encouraging facts than this year.—*How to Maintain and Improve the Race* (John Davis, 4d.) is the report of the Lansdowne House Conference of 'The National Council of Public Morals,' with speeches of great importance by the Bishop of Birmingham, Cardinal Bourne, the Right Hon. C. Addison, and other leaders of public opinion.—*New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1918*. (Wellington: Marks.) Here are 850 pages of facts and statistics covering every side of the life and work of New Zealand. The book is indispensable for those who wish to understand the activities of the Dominion. With it comes a blue book of statistics as to education, local governing bodies, and other matters of interest.—*The Brewers as Temperance Reformers*. By R. B. Batty. (Epworth Press. 8d.) A scathing criticism of the Licensing Bill proposed by the Liquor Trade Association.—The S.P.C.K. Pocket Books, Calendars, Churchman's Almanack, the neat Engagement Book, Parochial Alms-book, Prayer-Desk Almanack and Sheet Almanack, with a view of Tewkesbury Abbey, are as complete and reliable as ever. Prices range from 5s. net to 1½d., and every need of a varied constituency has been anticipated.—The Methodist Diaries for 1920 (1s. 9d. net to 3s. net) range from the handy Vest Pocket Diary to the Layman's Diary, the Minister's Diary, and the Minister's Pocket Book with records and schedules. An accident insurance coupon is a special feature. Much pains and skill have been spent in perfecting these most useful diaries.—*The New Power for the New Age*. By Edward J. Brailsford. (Epworth Press. 1s. net). The new generation needs a Church with new power, and Mr. Brailsford shows how that is to be found by waiting on God. Every one ought to read this beautiful and most timely paper.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (October).—Major-General Mahon on 'Munitions and Mr. Lloyd-George' maintains from personal knowledge that the steps taken by the War Office led up to the sufficiency of equipment which won the war, and that the loudly proclaimed measures of the Munition department were but the natural and necessary expansion due to the progress of events. Mr. Maurice Low, in 'England and America,' thinks that the deep-seated dislike of England and the English felt by the great mass of Americans before the war is not less intense to-day but is more widespread. The great mass of Americans believe that their army gave the *coup de grace* to Germany. Englishmen are regarded as arrogant, supercilious, and contemptuous of the American. The article leaves us uncomfortable, but Mr. Low promises to show us how our faults may be corrected.

Church Quarterly Review (October).—Mr. Jenkinson's account of 'The Bishops' Palaces in Old London' is full of historical allusions and will be read with great interest. 'Unrest' is a survey of the political situation. The writer sees 'no reason at all why this country should not recover and recover very rapidly from the effects of the war by simple methods of honest industry and reasonable economy in life.' Prof. Taylor writes on Plotinus, 'The philosopher of mysticism,' and Mr. Bevil Browne on 'Prayer-Book Enrichment'—a detailed examination of the proposals of the Conference on Prayer-Book Revision.

Hibbert Journal (October).—The Editor in his opening article, on 'Why we are disappointed,' echoes the dissatisfaction of most thoughtful people with the Peace and the present prospects of the League of Nations. But he deprecates mere grumbling, and urges that 'the whole structure of the Peace Treaty, as well as its spirit,' must be fundamentally changed. Mrs. J. W. Wootton, under the title 'Is Progress an Illusion?' asks more questions than she answers, but their relation to the Christianity of to-day is distinctly challenging. Sir Roland Wilson's description of 'Humanism' as an experiment will strike many readers as advocating a 'religion' in which the religious element is omitted. It is open, however, to 'humanists' to show by the trial (say) of half a century that this is a mistake. 'Time, Eternity, and God,' by L. J. Walker, S.J., is a

thoughtful handling of the difficult subject of the nature of existence in time and its relation to eternity. Professor H. L. Stewart writes a thoughtful and timely appreciation of the late Wilfrid Ward. An essay on 'Byron's Cain,' posthumously published from Mr. Stopford Brooke's MSS., goes to show that Byron's alleged 'blasphemy' implied no irreverence, but was a protest against conventional religious ideas of God, which roused the poet's indignation—an appeal from a false God to the True One. 'If Abel forgave, shall not God forgive?' The whole October number is full of interest. We can only further mention two articles, one on 'Jewish Apocalyptic and the Mysteries,' by Prof. E. J. Price, and one entitled 'Shall we remain in the Church?' a layman's view, by Prof. Drake, of Vassar College. Would the Church long remain if it were constituted as the writer desires?

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—The 'Document' described in this number is St. Maximus of Turin, 'Contra Judæos.' Amongst the Notes and Studies are papers on the Johannine account of the early ministry of Jesus by Dr. C. J. Cadoux, on 'The Semitisms of the Fourth Gospel' by Father Lattey, and two papers by Prof. Burkitt, of Cambridge—one a criticism of Prof. Torrey's views on 'Acts,' the other on the phrase 'lifting up' in the Fourth Gospel. *Agapetos* is the title of the first of a series of draft articles to be published in this Journal on some of the more important words to be included in a forthcoming Lexicon of Patristic Greek. An excellent plan, affording scope for criticism and comments by the readers of the Journal. The first article is distinctly promising.

The Holborn Review (October).—We congratulate the readers of this Review on the fact that Dr. A. S. Peake has undertaken the editorship; though, as is indicated in an editorial note contributed by himself, it is questionable whether a further addition to his manifold labours may not prove excessive. The present number is an excellent one. Some of its chief articles are 'Walt Whitman,' by A. Banham; 'The Soul of Russia,' by W. Daw; 'St. Paul and Mysticism,' by Dr. A. T. Cadoux, two articles on 'George Eliot,' by J. Maland and C. Gardner, and 'The Meaning of Suffering,' by Buchanan Blake. Other features of the Review are 'Views and Discussions,' containing an article on Goethe by Dr. J. Lindsay, and a very informing survey of current literature, largely written by the editor. Our best wishes are offered for the success of the Review under its new distinguished editor.

The Expository Times (October and November).—Bishop Ryle, Dean of Westminster, contributes an interesting paper describing how thirty years ago he wrote for this periodical an article on 'The Early Narratives of Genesis' and sketching the progress of Biblical study in the interval. Professor Burkitt's appreciation of Dr. Sanday, who is retiring from his Professorship at Oxford, admirably

illustrates the spirit in which Biblical study is directed by Divinity professors both at Oxford and Cambridge. Dr. F. R. Tennant's papers on 'Divine Omnipotence' and 'A Finite God' treat in a thoughtful way topics on which many minds are exercised at the present time. Principal Henderson's paper on 'The Church's Message for To-day,' and Dr. H. R. Mackintosh's article 'Christ and God' both deserve careful reading.

The Constructive Review (September).—Dr. Mackenzie, President of Hartford Seminary, shows what the Church would be able to effect in the world if some real form of unity were established. 'Bible Study among French Catholics' describes the work of Father Lagrange in the Dominican Bible School in Jerusalem. Mr. Turner's 'Ministries of Women in the Primitive Church' is of special interest.

Science Progress (October).—Short accounts are given of recent advances in various branches of science. Dr. Chattaway writes on 'Optical Activity'; Dr. F. C. Thompson on the impact testing of metals, in which fracture of the test-piece is effected by a single sudden blow, instead of the fatigue test, in which fracture is brought about by the rapid repetition of stresses often considerably below the elastic limit as determined in static tension. Sketches are given of the late Lord Rayleigh, and of Prof. Barklay, of Edinburgh, who received the Nobel Physics Prize for 1917.

The Shrine of Wisdom (October) is a new quarterly, devoted to synthetic philosophy, religion, and mysticism. One article deals with 'The System of Plotinus.'

Calcutta Review (October).—Prof. Gilchrist concludes his important study of 'Indian Nationality,' Mr. Chapman writes of his friend Charles Russell, Principal of Patna College, who was killed in action in 1917. 'He was full of gifts—intellectual power, love of action, love of talk and discussion, love of books, music, painting, architecture—but not one of them had for him alone the full enjoyment that it gave him when shared with another.'

The Economic Review (November).—This survey of the foreign press was undertaken in the second year of the war to supplement more direct methods of obtaining military information. It is now continued to guide business men as to what is being done in other countries in all departments of industry and commerce.

AMERICAN

Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville, October).—This is the first number that has reached us under the editorship of Dr. F. M. Thomas. His article on 'What the World is Facing' and the

general complexion of this current number give a good taste of his quality. We congratulate the M. E. Church South on his appointment. It is pleasant to find that the lamented Bishop Hoss preserved his characteristic vigour in an appreciation of 'The Father of Tennessee,' Gen. James Robertson. The sketch of the Southern States in the later eighteenth century is full of interest. 'The Idea of Sin' is, we gather, a prize-article, dealing with one aspect of a wide subject. Other thoughtful articles are 'Mithras or Christ?' by A. W. Nagler, 'The Psychology of Religion,' by H. H. Harris, and 'Studies in the Philosophy of William. James' by A. L. Seales. 'Bishops Unawares,' by G. F. Mellen, and 'Methodism Facing the New Era,' by Bishop Mouzon, deal with subjects of denominational interest, while 'David Lloyd George,' by Dr. W. Harrison, traces a career of world-wide significance. The Department of Exegesis is represented by a paper on 'Isaiah the Statesman,' by R. J. Raymer, and Exegetical Notes by various writers. Editorial and Devotional Departments are also represented, and the whole number shows the ability of an editor determined to secure comprehensiveness and variety.

Princeton Theological Review (October) contains an article of over fifty pages on Ritschl's Doctrine of Christian Perfection, a minute critique by Dr. B. B. Warfield. J. G. Machen criticizes the theories of Dr. C. C. Torrey and others on the Book of Acts. A second article appears on The Ethics of Shakspeare by C. A. Mitchell, and S. T. Lowrie contributes an expository paper on Rom. xii. 1-8.

Bibliotheca Sacra (October).—Dr. Gruber writes on 'The Creative Days' of Genesis, which were 'undoubtedly indefinite periods of time,' equivalent to ages as measured by our sun, and probably of unequal length. Science can scarcely throw light on this subject 'beyond the fourth, or at best the third, day; and even upon the fifth day it cannot throw a great deal of light. We may therefore safely accept the sacred account of creation in Genesis for what it is apparently intended to teach.' Dr. Griffith Thomas writes on the Keswick position as shown by Dr. Moule and Prebendary Webb-Peploe.

American Journal of Theology (October).—The opening article on "The Theological Trend of Pragmatism," by A. Eustace Haydon, anticipates the rise of a new religion of evolution, democracy, and science, to replace the outworn ideas of God and the world, which, in his view, are now obsolescent. "Our Soldiers' Doctrine of Death" considers that the way in which common, ordinary men splendidly faced death as one duty not essentially significant above any other duty, has made death but an incident in eternal spiritual life and furnishes a striking testimony to human immortality. Dr. H. T. Andrews, of New College, London, describes the "Legacy of Jesus to the Church," and holds that it is a fatal mistake, now, as often in the past, to isolate a single element in our Lord's teaching and treat it as the whole Gospel.

